ELEUSIS AND ATHENS
Documents in Finance, Religion and Politics in the Fifth Century B.C.

MAUREEN B. CAVANAUGH

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American Philological Association
American Classical Studies

Series Editor

David L. Blank

Number 35

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Scholars Press
Atlanta, Georgia

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Cavanaugh, Maureen B.
Eleusis and Athens : documents in finance, religion, and politics in the fifth century B.C. / Maureen B. Cavanaugh.
p. cm. — (American classical studies ; no. 35)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-7885-0031-7 (cloth). — ISBN 0-7885-0032-5 (pbk.)
1. Eleusinian mysteries. 2. Inscriptions, Greek—Greece—Athens. 3. Religion and state—Greece—Athens. 4. Harvesting—Greece—Athens—Religious aspects. 5. Demeter (Greek deity)—Cult. I. Title. II. Series.
BL795.E5C38 1996
292.6'6'09385—dc20 94-23331
CIP

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

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https://archive.org/details/eleusisathensdoc0000cava

PREFACE

The aim of this work is twofold: first, to present a new text with detailed commentary for two Eleusinian account-inventories (IG I^3 386-387); and second, to offer a new date for the First-fruits decree (I^3 78) after examining the extensive scholarship which attempts to date this decree have thus far occasioned. While quite different in purpose, the two halves of this work in fact have served to complement each other. Similarly because my work, first as a dissertation and more recently throughout its revisions, has spanned a number of years, I have been able to utilize a greater number of other scholars' works than would otherwise have been the case. Indeed revisions to this work continued up until the moment of its publication. Despite attempts at completeness, there are nevertheless omissions. I was only able to give cursory reference to recently published works, such as Diane Harris's *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*, which arrived just as this book was finished. Notice of B. Smarczyk's *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund* (*SEG* 42.9) came to my attention just as this book went to press, and thus too late for consideration. Rather than delay further this already too long delayed process, I offer my work in its current state as a contribution to the necessarily on-going scholarship and debate concerning these important subjects.

This work has benefitted greatly from the help of many people, too numerous to acknowledge individually. Any remaining errors are solely my responsibility. To Kevin Clinton I owe an enormous debt of gratitude, for suggesting these inscriptions (although he initially expected quite a different result in the redating of the First-fruits inscription) and, more importantly, for making it possible for me in 1992 to make the revisions necessary to the dissertation so that it could be published in its current form. In addition, this book has benefitted enormously from his comments and suggestions. Many people with whom I had contact during the times I have spent at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have contributed greatly to my understanding of various aspects of the ancient world: Judith Binder, Colin Edmonson, Henry Immerwahr and Nancy Winter come especially to mind. Similarly John Mansfield and Nancy Kelly of Cornell's Center for the Computerization of Ancient Greek Inscriptions provided a most hospitable environment for making the necessary revisions. Thanks also are due to my anonymous reviewers, for their suggestions and above all encouragement.

Heartfelt thanks are owed to Roger and Joan Crile Foster for their hospitality while the revisions were underway; Susan Butler Plum for encouragement and support; and last, but certainly not least, to Chris Plum for his unflagging support and encouragement of my efforts to resume my work on this book, and, above all, for his willingness to help with all phases of the publication process, which has been so important to bringing this to fruition.

M.B.C.
February 1996

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for periodicals cited are those found in *AJA* 90 (1986) 384-394. Otherwise, the abbreviations used in *L'Année Philologique* are employed. Works frequently cited are referred to by the following abbreviations.

Aleshire	S. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (Amsterdam 1989).
Cavaignac	E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle, Le Trésor Sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'en 404* (Versailles 1908).
Clinton, *Inscriptions*	K. Clinton, "Inscriptions from Eleusis," *ArchEph* (1971) 81-136.
Clinton, *Officials*	K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *TransAmPhilSoc* 64 (Philadelphia 1979).
Clinton, *Telesterion*	K. Clinton, "The Date of the Classical Telesterion," ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ *Studies Presented to George Mylonas 2* (Athens 1987) 254-262.
Clinton, *Treasures*	K. Clinton, "Eleusinian Treasures in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday*, *GRBS* 10 (1984) 51-60.
DarSag	C.V. Daremberg and Edm. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments* (Paris 1873-1919).
Ferguson	W.S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge 1932).
Ginouvès/Martin	R. Ginouvès and R. Martin, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine* (Paris 1985).
GPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Volume II Attica*, Edd. M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (Oxford 1994).
Harris	D. Harris, *The Inventory Lists of the Parthenon Treasures* (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1991).
Harris (1995)	D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford 1995).
Healy	J.F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978).

Hodge	A.T. Hodge, *The Woodwork of Greek Roofs* (Cambridge 1960).
Linders, *AB*	T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasury Records of Artemis Brauronia* (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athens* 4°, 19) (Stockholm 1972).
Linders, *Treasurers*	T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* 62 (Meisenheim 1975).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. H. StuartJones and R. McKenzie (Oxford 1940).
Martin	R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture Grecque I: Materiaux et Techniques* (Paris 1965).
Meiggs	R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford 1982).
Meisterhans-Schwyzer	K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*. Revised by E. Schwyzer. (Berlin 1900).
Meritt, *Prytanies*	B.D. Meritt, "The Prytanies of 408/7 B.C.," *ArchCl* 25-26 (1973-1974) 432-439.
Mylonas	G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961).
Noack	F. Noack, *Eleusis Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes* (Berlin 1927).
Orlandos	A. Orlandos, *Les Materiaux de Construction et la Technique Architecture I et II des Anciens Grecs*. Translated by V. Hadjimichali (Paris 1966).
PA	J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901).
Pritchett, *Stelai*	W.K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai II," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 178-317.
Rhodes	P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1985).
Rubensohn	O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtumer in Eleusis und Samothrake* (Berlin 1892).
Sardemann	W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden aus dem V. Jahhundert* (Diss. Univ. Marburg 1914).
Shear, *Projects*	T.L. Shear, Jr., *Studies in the Early Projects of the Periklean Building Program* (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1966).
Shear, *Demolished Temple*	T.L. Shear, Jr., "The Demolished Temple at Eleusis," *Hesperia Supplement 20* (1982) 128-140.

Threatte	Leslie Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin 1980).
Tomlinson	R.A. Tomlinson, "Two Notes on Possible Hestiatoria," *BSA* 75 (1980) 221-228.

INTRODUCTION

The wealth of epigraphic material we are fortunate to have allows us both to gain a more complete picture of Athens in the second half of the fifth century and to fill in some of the details understandably lacking from Thucydides' portrait of the polis. Yet there are gaps even in the epigraphic material—those due to fortuitous preservation of the stones and those in the preserved texts where it was unnecessary for contemporary Athenians to set forth all of the details which we would now like to know. The almost perfectly preserved First-fruits decree (IG I^3 78), which calls for the offering of aparche to the Eleusinian Goddesses, Demeter and Kore, is an example of this second group.

What is prescribed for the Athenians and their allies in the First-fruits decree, to join in honoring the Eleusinian Goddesses, is extended in the form of a panhellenic invitation to all Greeks in this Athenian decree. The offering of first-fruits to local deities was a practice customary among the Greeks. By extending the obligation of honoring Demeter, owed because of her gift of grain (καρπός) and hence civilization, beyond the Athenians and their allies to all Greeks was, however, to assert further justification for Athens' hegemony, her claim to be παίδευσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Indeed, such a call on a religious level would strike a far deeper chord in a society lacking any notion of the separation of state and cult (which we so naturally assume) and would likely be far more potent as means of achieving recognition of Athenian pre-eminence than other regulations imposed, such as those regarding weights and measures or legal procedures, the other means by which Athens asserted her position of leadership in the second half of the fifth century.

Few inscriptions have occasioned as much discussion as the First-fruits decree. But the importance of this document, however well preserved it is, cannot be fully comprehended so long as it lacks a firm date: Athens' attempt to assert her pre-eminence by capitalizing on the panhellenic character of the Eleusinian Demeter, whom she claimed as her own, provides a very different picture if it is viewed as a product of Periclean Athens in the years before the Peloponnesian War rather than simply an example of the overreaching imperialism often considered more characteristic of the later years of that war.

This study did not begin, however, as an attempt to date the First-fruits decree. It started with two Eleusinian account-inventories (IG I^3 386-387) dated to 408/7. These documents issued by the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι provide a vast body of information regarding the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter

and Kore at Eleusis and at the City Eleusinion during the final years of the Peloponnesian War. Because these accounts also contain a loan to the Athenian state, they have been cited in many discussions of the relationship of the Athenian state to its local religious cults. Similarly, certain parts of these documents have occasioned comment, or been compared with documents from other local sanctuaries, because of the information they provide on one facet or another of the Greek world. But they have not previously received the attention they deserved—as documents which reflect the actual workings of a major religious sanctuary at the end of the fifth century. The commentary which follows my new text of IG I^3 386–387 will, I hope, go some way towards providing this. In an effort to understand these account-inventories issued by the epistatai, I reviewed the Eleusinian inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries which relate to the sanctuary's administration. From that examination, which is presented here in Part I, a clearer picture of the officials who participated in that administration emerges. The hieropoioi appear, as early as c. 460 B.C., as the first officials in charge of the possessions and valuables of Demeter and Kore. Already at this time money belonging to the Two Goddesses is stored on the Acropolis and is available for use by the Athenian Demos. A period of shared competence with a new board, the epistatai, is documented in the four years represented by IG I^3 391 (422/1–419/8). By 408/7, the date of IG I^3 386–387, the epistatai appear as the sole administrators, a function which they continue to perform for the greater part of the fourth century (sometimes sharing this responsibility with different officials, but never replaced in their role as chief administrators).

While much effort has focused primarily on finding a date for the First-fruits decree, this cannot be done *in vacuo*. Rather, it is into the picture of the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the fifth and fourth centuries, as just outlined, that the First-fruits decree must be fit. For whatever it can tell us about Athens' desire to assert her hegemony in the fifth century (through the promotion of Demeter's importance to the Greek world and Athens' generosity in sharing Demeter's beneficence), the decree is first and foremost a document regulating the offering of the first-fruits to the Eleusinian Goddesses. And as such it must be viewed as only one in the existing series of Eleusinian documents relating to the sanctuary of Demeter. No date which does violence to the other Eleusinian documents can be satisfactory, however well it serves some other pre-existing theory or scheme.

Thus Part I offers a detailed survey of the evidence for the board of epistatai, both their existing records and IG I^3 32, the decree creating this new board of officials. Indeed, a re-examination of all of the documents relating to both the hieropoioi and the epistatai is necessary before a new date can be

offered for the First-fruits decree. Once it is clear what the existing documents tell us about the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the fifth century, then, and only then, will we be in a position to consider the date of the First-fruits decree. Because it has been the subject of many studies over the past century or so, it seems appropriate, in addition, to review the vast scholarship and to consider the merits of the arguments previously advanced before limiting the time period into which the First-fruits decree should be fit.

Part II presents a new text of IG I^3 386-387, the account-inventories issued by the epistatai, along with a detailed commentary. A synopsis of what these documents can tell us about sanctuary administration and operation in general and the state of affairs existing at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in particular in the last decade of the fifth century follows. In addition to much specific information about the operation of the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore we will also have gained, in the end, a clearer picture of the different boards of officials concerned with its administration. In turn, how these officials in charge of the sanctuary changed in the fifth century, as documented by this series of inscriptions, offers a tantalizing glimpse into the interaction of the Athenian State with at least one major sanctuary.

TEMPLE TREASURE OFFICIALS

A brief and by no means complete overview of what we know generally regarding temple treasure and sanctuary administration will be useful before proceeding to discuss the two boards of officials in charge of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the fifth and fourth centuries. This overview is intended merely for the reader's orientation; it is not meant to be an original contribution to any aspect of this subject.

The actual workings of religious sanctuary administration are known to us chiefly from epigraphic material. For a discussion of the most general kind we can turn first to Aristotle, who, after describing the various political offices necessary for either a democratic or oligarchic government, goes on to discuss what officers are necessary for matters religious (ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεούς (*Politics* VI.v.11, 1322b)). Aristotle names hieropoioi (sacrificial officers), naophylakes (temple guardians) and tamiai (treasurers) of the sacred funds as examples of these officials (οἷον ἱεροποιοὺς καὶ ναοφύλακας καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων), noting that their number varied from only a single official, in smaller cities, to many, where administrative officials and priestly offices were both necessary.

Aristotle gives no more specifics regarding these officials. Much can be inferred, however, from the numerous temple inventories which have survived (in the greatest number from Attica and Delos, although examples also remain from a variety of other Greek sites). In addition to the three titles cited by Aristotle, we also find officials called epimeletai (managers), epistatai (overseers) and hierarchai[1] (sacred officers). We might infer further from the Kallias decree (IG I^3 52.18–20), where tamiai, epistatai and hieropoioi are named as the officials currently administering the sanctuaries and treasures of their respective gods, and from whom the newly created board of the Treasurers of the Other Gods are to take over the management of the treasures in the Opisthodomos, that these three—tamiai, epistatai and hieropoioi—are the officials most frequently found administering Attic sanctuaries at this time (434/3). (παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν καὶ τῶν ιεροποιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς, οἱ νῦν διαχερίζ[οσ]ιν.) That these officials had similar duties, viz. the administration of their respective sanctuaries, may be inferred

[1] ἱεραρχαί are found as the officials issuing an inventory for the Amphiaraon in Oropos. Keil ("Ein Silverinventar des Amphiaraos von Oropos," *Hermes* 25 (1890) 615) likened them to both ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων and ἐπιστάται τοῦ νεώ because of their wide powers.

from hoì nûv διαχερίζοσιν; that there were probably differences in their respective duties is at least suggested by the fact that different names are attached to the different boards.[2] Beyond this our evidence does not allow us to generalize.

These officials, by whatever name they are known, performed a wide variety of tasks in the administration and management of their respective religious sanctuaries. We find them most commonly as curators responsible for the sanctuary's possessions, an office including more than mere guardianship, often involving responsibility for the receipts and expenditures necessary for the sanctuary's operation.

Whether equally true of all temple administrators is not known, but at least the tamiai of Athena were chosen initially from the pentacosiomedimnoi, the highest property classification.[3] Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* states that while the Solonian law was still in force, even a poor man served if chosen by lot (ἄρχει δ' ὁ λαχὼν κἂν πάνυ πένης ᾖ). Some effort must be made to reconcile these two statements. Common sense suggests that those responsible for what often amounted to sizeable treasures should have additional qualifications beyond what pure selection by sortition could offer. Given the gravity of their responsibility and their need for a certain technical competence, Tréheux has suggested that, in addition to the usual personal *dokimasia* (examination), the tamiai would have been obliged to provide some sort of guarantee or surety for their administration, whether based on their individual fortunes or that of their friends or family.[4] In support of this view inventories

[2] It is unclear whether the difference in the names attached to these boards is simply to be taken as reflective of the word usage common at the time of their creation; or, whether we may assume that tamiai (treasurers) are somehow less involved with religious activities (i.e., the purchase of sacrificial animals) than the hieropoioi were. The term epistatai, denoting more generally overseers, seems to be increasingly used for the boards found in fifth - fourth century Attic sanctuary administration. An examination of the records issued by the epistatai, particularly IG II^2 1672 (for which see below, Chapter One), serves as a warning that we should not be too quick to impute functions to any group simply by virtue of title.

[3] *Ath.Pol.* 47.1. "The Council also collaborates with the other magistracies in the greater part of the administration. There are in the first place the Treasurers of Athena, chosen by lot, one from each tribe. They are chosen from the Pentacosiomedimni according to the law of Solon—for this law is still in force—but he who is designated by lot holds the office even if he is very poor." Translated by Kurt von Fritz and Ernest Kapp in *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts* (New York 1974).

[4] J. Tréheux, "Études sur les Inventaires Attiques," *EAC* 3 (1965) 13-15. Tréheux's thesis has the merit of explaining those inventory records where space has been left in the preamble for additional members still to be named. Tréheux assumed that these were men who had not yet satisfied the necessary requirements.

from Delos, Artemis Brauronia, and Asklepios can be cited where the officials in charge made good the loss for any deficiencies found.[5]

While these treasure officials generally functioned as a board, they are also known to have functioned individually.[6] How the various duties were apportioned, and what prompted them to be divided so that board members functioned individually, is not clear from any of our sources.[7] Where all board members are named in the preamble of the inventory, their relative status as equal members of the board is assumed. Where only a single official is named as the eponym of the board in the formula ὁ δεῖνα καὶ συνάρχοντες, it is not clear whether the named official occupied a special position as chairman of the board or was simply the individual uppermost in the writer or scribe's mind.[8]

The type of bookkeeping used and records issued varied both by board, sanctuary and period. We know that the accounts from Delos, for example, are marked by increasing detail. The Delian hieropoioi from the period of Independence (314–166 B.C.), whose responsibilities included the leasing of the temple estates, issued daily records on papyri, posted these records on wooden notice boards every month and gave a monthly financial report to the Delian Boule.[9] On an annual basis, these same officials inventoried the sacred objects and gave an itemized record of the monies received and expended. These annual

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[5] Linders, *AB* 53-54, cited IG II^2 1524, 58-61, where the two necklaces dedicated by Nikostrate are found to be deficient. The epistatai made up the deficiency by paying one part (3/4 obol) in gold and the rest (1 drachma 1/2 obol) in silver. Similarly, in a fourth century inventory of Asklepios four drachmas are recorded as missing from an offering of twelve drachmas. "This missing sum Polyxenos paid back on his own behalf." (II^2 1533, 6-7 lines 18 ff.). From Delos (IG XI, 2, 287, B 91) "a cup which the hieropoioi in the year of Kalodikos (= a. 273) restored" might also be similarly interpreted.

[6] Linders, *AB* 52 and n. 8, cited numerous Delian examples where one member of the board of hieropoioi delivers sums of money for which he appeared to be solely responsible. (IG XI, 2, 162 A 41, 354, 7 ff., 20ff.; Inscr. Délos. 1429 B II 28 ff., 1442 B 53-4, 1443 B I 165=1444 Aa 49).

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Dover maintained in ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ (*JHS* 80 (1960) 68-70) that those referred to as καὶ συνάρχοντες, whether treasurers of Athena or generals, are not legally subordinate to the eponym, who is named only because he is the member uppermost in the writer's mind. *Contra* Thompson ("Notes on the Treasurers of Athena," *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 57-59), who asserted that chairmen existed for all Boards of Treasurers of Athena; and, Jameson ("Seniority in the Stratêgia," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 75) who assigned the eponym no greater power but described the chairman as "an organizational convenience, perhaps a necessity." Jameson's view seems the most sensible, given the likelihood of how boards tend to operate.

[9] J.H. Kent, "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia, and Mykonos," *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 243.

accounts were recorded on stelai and available for public inspection.[10]

παραδόσεις or *traditiones* is the term given to these annual records which form the largest group of those preserved. Woodward[11] defined a *paradosis* as a "twofold transaction, whereby the recipients of certain objects handed them over to a second body." Tréheux described the process in more detail: one college of administrators takes charge of the sacred objects at the beginning of their term. They draw up an inventory by a process of cross-checking against that of the preceding college of administrators. This process is again repeated under the same conditions when they, in turn, hand over their charge to the new board of officials. "Toute παράδοσις tient donc lieu à la fois de procès-verbal de prise en charge par le collège entrant et de décharger pour le collège sortant."[12]

The process of inventorying a vast number of items was undoubtedly lengthy, especially where individual items were not only counted but weighed, as was most often the case for items of precious material. It seems likely that this process was done either by the officials in charge or assistants directly under their official supervision.[13] In a Delian inventory of 146/5 (ID 1442 B 63–72), items are described as "weighed by us (i.e., the administrators) and the priestess."[14] We know, however, that items which were inaccessible (i.e., mounted on the wall) or with a bronze or wooden core were often not weighed.

Given the process just described, two successive παραδόσεις should list the same objects in the same order, with the exception only of those items recorded as ἐπέτεια, things received in that year (which would then be incorporated into their appropriate place in the inventory in the subsequent year).[15] Yet we find that successive inventories do not always list the same

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[10] *Ibid* 243-44.

[11] A. M. Woodward, "Treasure-Records from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 114.

[12] J. Tréheux, "L'Inventaire des Clérouques d'Imbros," *BCH* 80 (1956) 472.

[13] See Kent (*supra*, n. 9) 272, n. 87 where IG XI, 2, 163, Bg, line 19 is cited: τάδε φυτὰ τὰ ἐν τῆι γεωργίαι τῆι Χαρωνείαι ἀπέδειξαν καὶ παρημίσθησαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἱε[ροποιοὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα...]. Similarly II^2 1407.7, referring to the process of weighing separate parts of the chryselephantine statue, suggests either that the tamiai weighed the gold and ivory, or supervised the process: [τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸν] | ἐλέφαντα παρέδομεν, προς ἀργύριον τὰ στα[θμία ἀντιστήσαντες]. Woodward ("Two Attic Treasure Records," *HSCP Supplement* 1 (1940) = *Studies Ferguson* 381) translated the last line as "weighing them on the scales against the silver."

[14] Linders, *AB* 51 and n. 5.

[15] But see A. B. West and A. M. Woodward ("Studies in Attic Treasure-Records," *JHS* 58 (1938) 69-89), who noted that in the Hekatompedon lists objects listed as *epeteia* recur year after year under the same rubric and are not incorporated.

objects in the same order, and for a true "control inventory" an ἐξετασμός was necessary.[16] While a παράδοσις was carried out by the administrators in charge, the ἐξετασμός would have been performed by a specially chosen board of officials, under direct supervision of the Boule.[17] Similarly, while the *paradosis* would ordinarily follow a topographical order, implying that the inventory reflects the path taken by the officials as they proceeded through the sanctuary noting the sanctuary's goods, the ἐξετασμός proceeded by category (gold, silver) and then, within that category, by type of object (ἐξετάζεν κατὰ ἔθνος).

We might ask why there was a need for both the annual παράδοσις and the periodic ἐξετασμός. Linders has suggested that the *paradosis* was not primarily a tool for checking temple treasures, but more importantly the symbolic act, in the presence of official witnesses, whereby the outgoing board acquitted themselves of the transfer of the treasure to their successors. Thus the transaction, "the confrontation between two parties in the presence of witnesses," not the registration in the inventory, was the critical event.[18] The Kallias decree (I^3 52.20), where the newly created board of the Treasurers of the Other Gods are to take an inventory of and weigh the treasures received in the presence of the Boule (ἀπαριθμεσάσθον καὶ ἀποστεσάσθον τὰ χρέματα ἐναντίον τῆς βολ[ῆ]ς ἐμ πόλει) might be seen to offer some support for her view.

Yet I would contend that the *paradosis* surely served both functions equally: as a record of the sanctuary's possessions and as evidence of the proper transmission between the incoming and outgoing boards involved in the oversight of these possessions. Imputing too much significance to either the minor differences between subsequent *paradoseis* or the need for periodic "control inventories" is to ignore the realities of human error and the likelihood

[16] See Tréheux (*supra*, n. 12), especially pp. 472-73.

[17] IG II^2 120 (353/2) orders an ἐξετασμός of the Chalkotheke because of irregularities in its administration. The Council itself was in charge, but was assisted by treasurers, military leaders and other officials who had been in office during the preceding years in question. See *Ath.Pol.* 47.1 (*supra*, n. 3) where the passage from Aristotle suggests general oversight by the Boule of all these sanctuary officials in the course of their work, not only in the more unusual case of an ἐξετασμός.

[18] T. Linders, "The purpose of inventories: A close reading of the Delian inventories of the Independence." *Comptes et Inventaires dans la Cité Grecque*, Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenue à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux. Ed. Denis Knoepfler (Neuchâtel 1988). See especially pp. 40-44.

of such differences in the ordinary course of events.[19]

With this in mind, we can now turn to the Eleusinian documents relating to the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis by the epistatai.

[19] In other words, the inventory process should be likened more probably to its modern day counterpart, periodic physical counting of "all stock-keeping units," and less to the painstaking iterative process of manuscript correction where repeated corrections are made until perfection, or near perfection, is reached. See, for example, *Harvard Business School Case Number* 182-264, Paul C. Browne, Richard F. Vancil and Vijay Sathe, "Jim Henderson and the Phantom Plant" (1982), where a discrepancy between the materials management records and the financial-accounting records on inventory levels approached the inventory of a "typical Cummins engine plant," hence the title.

PART I

The Administration of the Eleusinian Sanctuary in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries

CHAPTER ONE

THE EPISTATAI

The epistatai were a board of officials created sometime after the mid-fifth century to oversee the treasury of the Two Goddesses (Demeter and Kore). An examination of the document creating this board as well as the documents later issued by the epistatai in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. will allow a more comprehensive picture of the board and will also provide us with a more complete view of the administration of the sanctuary. In turn this will help us evaluate the place of documents relating to the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, specifically the First-fruits inscription (IG I^3 78), in the larger scheme of what we know of the cult and sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

The evidence we have for the fifth century includes: (1) IG I^3 32, an undated document which creates the board of epistatai; (2) I^3 391, a four year record, dated by archon to 422/1-419/8, of receipt by the epistatai from the hieropoioi of some portion of the sale of the first-fruits; (3) I^3 386-387 (for which a text and detailed commentary appear below in Part II), a *paradosis* from one board of epistatai to the next listing the inventory of the Goddesses' possessions on the Acropolis, at the City Eleusinion and at Eleusis for the years 408/7-407/6; (4) I^3 388-390, inventory fragments of the Two Goddesses dating probably from the last quarter of the fifth century; and (5) I^3 392-394, account fragments possibly listing expenses related to work on the bridge over the Rheitoi.

The fourth century records include: (6) a law regulating the Mysteries, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 263-265 =*SEG* 30.61; (7) a *paradosis* by an individual to the tamiai of the Other Gods, who in turn make a *paradosis* to the epistatai, II^2 1541; (8) a series of *paradoseis* from one board of epistatai to another, II^2 1543-1544; (9) a list of architectural specifications for the Telesterion, II^2 1666; (10) an expenditure account for an unspecified year, II^2 1673; (11) the expenditure accounts for the year 329/8, II^2 1672, issued jointly by the epistatai and the tamiai of the Goddesses; and (12) undated fragments of *paradoseis*, II^2 1545-1549.

What follows is a detailed examination of each relevant document with

particular attention to the board named, its composition, tenure and functions.[1]

1. IG I³ 32, an amendment to an unpreserved, undated decree, records the creation of the board of epistatai. (See below, pp. 19-21, for a complete text and translation.) IG I³ 32 is also known as the Koroibos inscription because it calls for an audit by the logistai of the money spent in the sanctuaries of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis, Phaleron and in Athens, where, in connection with the City Eleusinion, the logistai are to summon the architect Koroibos and Lysanias.[2] I give here the portions of the text (lines 6-13) pertinent to the establishment of the epistatai.

τὰ μὲν] ἄλλα καθάπε-
ρ τε͂[ι β]ο[λ]ε͂ι, ἄ[νδρας δὲ hελέσ]θ[αι Ἀ]θεναίο-
ν πέ[ν]τε, τούτ[ος δὲ φέρεν τέττ]αρας ὀβολὸ-
[ς] hέκασ[τ]ον π[α]ρὰ τὸν κολ[ακρ]ετὸν, hένα δ[ὲ]
[τ]ούτον [γρ]αμματε[ύ]ε[ν κατὰ] φσε͂[φ]ον· τούτο-
[ς] δὲ ἐπισ[τε͂]ναι [τ]οῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θ-
[ε]οῖν καθάπερ hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[ο]-
[ι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι·

The text shows that a board of five men, including their secretary, are to be selected from among all Athenians (lines 7–8). Their principal function is to oversee the moneys of the Goddesses (lines 11–12). This includes making

[1] The only other fifth century document that possibly mentions the epistatai is IG I³ 395, dated to ca. 450-445 by Lewis (I³). IG I³ 395 lists expenses related to stone cutting and transportation—possibly related to the building of the Telesterion. As printed in IG I³ the epistatai appear in line 3: παρὰ τôν προτέρο[ν] ἐ̣[πιστατôν]. After examining the stone, Clinton (*Telesterion* 259-60, n. 22) suggested that ε̣ or ḥ were equally possible in the sixteenth stoichos, where ε̣ is now read, but neither was sufficiently certain to be printed unbracketed. A vertical stroke in the following stoichos led him to restore the line: παρὰ τôν προτέρον [ἐ]π̣[ιστατôν]. He identified these epistatai not with the board created by IG I³ 32, but with officials chosen to oversee some particular project. A more recent examination of the stone, however, has now led Clinton to conclude that the vertical stroke which he read as π̣ could equally be read as ι̣. Hence [h]ι̣[εροποιôν] is as likely as [ἐ]π̣[ιστατôν]. And so he will propose in his edition of Eleusinian inscriptions. Since the epistatai are not definitely named in I³ 395, and no part of this account coincides with accounts known to have been issued by the epistatai, it cannot now be used to describe the name, title, membership or term of the epistatai created by IG I³ 32.

[2] For a more complete discussion of the role of Koroibos in the construction of the classical Telesterion and what IG I³ 32 can tell us regarding the state of construction at Eleusis and at the Eleusinion in Athens, see K. Clinton, "The Date of the Classical Telesterion at Eleusis," ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ, *Studies Presented to George Mylonas 2* (Athens 1987) 254-62.

known before the Boule what is owed to the Goddesses and seeing that it is repaid: [τὸς δὲ] hειρεμένο|[ς] προσιόντας πρὸς τὲν βολέν, ἐάν τι ὀφελ|ό[μ]ενον ἐ[ι] τοῖν θεοῖν, φρά[ζ]εν καὶ ἀ[ν]απρά|[τ]τεν· (14–17); taking charge of the yearly income received and seeing that any loans made by the Goddesses are repaid: ἐπιμελêσθαι δὲ καὶ τôν ἐπετε|ίον hὰ λαμβάνεται τοῖ[ν θ]εοῖν καὶ ἐάν τι|[ἀ]πολολὸς πυνθάνονται [ἀ]νασόι[ζε]ν· (20–22); and taking charge, in conjunction with the priestly officials and the Boule, of making all necessary expenditures as well as receipts: ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]|λιστα δέει μετὰ τôν hιερέον καὶ τês β[ολ]|ês βολευομένος τὸ λοιπόν· (28–32).[3]

At the date of its creation this board was to function on a yearly basis: ἄρχεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν] ὀμόσαντας με|ταχσὺ τοῖν βομοῖν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ τὸ λοιπ|òν κατὰ ταὐτὰ hαιρêσθαι κ[α]τ' ἐνιαυτὸν τ|ὸς ἄνδ[ρ]ας· (17–20)

In making known what is owed to the Goddesses (in addition to general oversight and administration of the Goddesses' wealth), the board of epistatai is to perform a function similar to that specified for the treasurers of the Other Gods in the Kallias decree (IG I^3 52). This board of epistatai is created, however, on the model of a board of epistatai in Athens concerned with a building project. ("They are to oversee the finances of the Two Goddesses just as those (epistatai) of the works on the Acropolis *used* to oversee the Temple and the Statue.") However, "the new epistatai were not in fact particularly to resemble their model. They are to take charge of χρέματα whereas the model had charge of ἔργα; and consequently the new epistatai prove to be in some ways more like the tamiai."[4]

This distinction is important. Some scholars have regarded the fact that the epistatai are entrusted with the financial administration of the sanctuary at Eleusis as strange. According to Cavaignac: "originairement, les epistates sont, à Athènes, des agents de travaux publics, et non de finances."[5] It should be noted, however, that the sanctuaries of Attica were administered by both hieropoioi and epistatai, at least at the time of the decree of Kallias (IG I^3 52.18-19): παρὰ δὲ τôν νῦν ταμιôν καὶ τôν ἐπιστατôν καὶ τôν hιεροποιôν τôν ἐν τοῖς hιεροῖς, hοὶ νῦν διαχερίζο[σι]ν, ἀπαριθμεσάσθον καὶ

[3] This interpretation requires one to supply the epistatai as subjects for the infinitive ἀναλίσκειν although a clause concerning the functions of the logistai has intervened. That they were to be charged with the function of recording and overseeing future expenditures can be inferred from the provision that the logistai are to supply this newly created board of epistatai with a "completely audited portfolio." For a complete discussion of this point see B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Dating of Inscriptions to the Mid-Fifth Century, II," *JHS* 83 (1963) 112.

[4] *Ibid* 114.

[5] Cavaignac 33.

ἀποστεσάσθον τὰ χρέματα κτλ. It is from the treasurers and the epistatai and the hieropoioi who are currently in charge that the newly created treasurers of the Other Gods are to take over, inventory and weigh the sacred treasures. If epistatai are in charge of χρέματα at the time of the Kallias decree, their competence clearly could extend beyond building projects.

With the main body of IG I^3 32 now lost, we cannot say what action was specified in it before the proposal to create the epistatai. It has sometimes been assumed that what is now missing related to a proposed building project for the Eleusinian sanctuary. This, of course, would strengthen the view that the epistatai were primarily responsible for building projects. That they were later associated with or in charge of building materials and actual building will become obvious from a consideration of the later inscriptions. That they were also to be in charge of χρέματα—both receipts and expenditures—is something clearly specified in this inscription (lines 11, 15-16, 20-22, 28) and is obvious also in IG I^3 386-387. So while this comparison, between the newly created board at Eleusis and hoì ἐπὶ ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τοῖ ἀ[γ]άλματι, must not be pressed too far, it is crucial in the arguments for the dating of this inscription. Consideration of a date for IG I^3 32 will be postponed until after an examination of all the other relevant material.

It should be noted that nowhere in this inscription (IG I^3 32), as we have it, is the newly created board referred to by name. We assume the name of the board (epistatai) from the verb (ἐπισ[τ]ê̂ναι) used to define their functions. The only references to a proper noun are locative and refer to Eleusis, (Ἐλευσῖνι). It should not be surprising then that the name of the board of epistatai administering the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis does not remain constant throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. This variation has created uncertainty for some scholars in determining whether the documents of this period showing minor name variations are all to be assigned to the same board created by this fifth century decree. The variation, however, is less problematic if we realize that the board was created without a definite title attached to it and got its name from the function with which it was charged.

While the hieropoioi appear in the only two lines left of what we assume to be the main part of the decree, now lost, we can infer the functions for which they were no longer responsible at this time by comparison with what we are told of the epistatai's functions. Clearly the epistatai are in charge of the finances of Demeter and Kore: they are in charge of receiving current income, making necessary expenditures, and of ascertaining and collecting what is owed to the Goddesses. With perhaps the exception of the first-fruits, of which no mention is made, the epistatai are in complete control of the finances of the Two Goddesses. The epistatai are five in number, one of them serving as secretary.

2. IG I³ 391 is a four-year record, dated by archon to 422/1–419/8, of the receipt by the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν (lines 15-16) from the ἱεροποιοί Ἐλευσῖνι of the money derived from the aparche (ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τô σίτο ἀπαρχῆς τοῖν θεοῖν). The epistatai are referred to as ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν in this, their first inscription which we possess since their creation. It is safe to conclude, of course, that IG I³ 32 predates these years since we see here in operation that board which it created.

[ἐπ᾽ Ἀλκαίο ἄρχοντος ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσιν]-
[όθεν, hοῖσι Φιλόστρατος Κυδαθεναιεὺς]
[ἐγρα]μμάτε[υε, παρεδέχσαντο παρὰ hιερο]-
[πο]ιôν Ἐλευσῖ[νι.....[19].....]
5 [καὶ] σχυναρχόντο[ν (sic), ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τô σίτο]
[τῆ]ς ἀπαρχῆς τοῖν θε̣[οῖν ...[7]... ἐπὶ τῆς]
[β]ολῆς hῆι Πρέπις πρ̣ộ[τος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐ]-
[π᾽] Ἀριστίο̣νος ἄρχοντος ἐπ̣[ιστάται Ἐλευ]-
[σ]ινόθεν, hοῖ[σ]ι Φιλόστρατος Κ[υδαθεναι]-
10 [εὺς] ἐγραμμάτευε, παρεδέ̣[χ]σαντο [παρ᾽ hιε]-
[ρο]π̣οιôν Ἐλευσῖνι Θεοχσένο Κεφαλῆθε̣[ν]
[κ]αὶ χσυναρχόντον ἀργύ[ρι]ον ἀπὸ τô σίτο
τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τοῖν θεοῖν ΓΗ ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς
[h]ῆι Χαρῖνος πρộτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπ᾽ Ἀστ-
15 υ̣φίλο ἄρχοντες ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθε-
ν, ḥοῖσι Φιλόστρατος Κυδαθεναιεὺς ἐγρ-
αμμάτευε, παρεδέχσαντο παρὰ hιεροποι-
[ô]ν Ἐλευσῖνι Δεμοκρίτο Ἀλοπεκειộς καὶ
χσυναρχόντον ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τô σίτο τῆς
20 ἀπαρχῆς τοῖν θεοῖν ΔΔΔΗ ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς h-
[ῆι ....[9].... πρộτ]ος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπ᾽ Ἀρ-
[χίο ἄρχοντος ἐπιστάται] Ἐλευσινόθε̣[ν, h]-
[οῖσι Φιλόστρατος Κυδαθεναι]ε̣[ὺ]ς [ἐγραμ]-
[μάτευε----------]

The chief peculiarity of this inscription strikes us immediately upon comparison with IG I³ 32, where the epistatai are created as an annual board of five men, including their secretary (lines 17-20). A reading of IG I³ 391 shows that the secretary of the board of the epistatai, Φιλόστρατος Κυδαθεναιεύς, appears in at least two of the four years (lines 9 and 17) and can easily be restored in the other two (lines 3 and 24). Since IG I³ 32 calls for the election

of the five men on an annual basis and the secretary is included among these five men, clearly the secretary was to be chosen annually as well. With the same secretary for four years, it would seem a reasonable inference that the epistatai, too, remained the same over the entirety of the four year period recorded in I^3 391. Therefore, we first meet the epistatai not as an annual board but as a quadrennial one, presumably functioning from one greater Panathenaia to the next.

More striking is the involvement of the epistatai with the money derived from the sale of the first-fruits of Demeter and Kore (τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τῶ σίτο τῆς ἀπαρχῆς). Their involvement with money belonging to the Goddesses is not at all peculiar since that is their function specified in the decree that created them. However, their involvement with and control over money derived from the first-fruits is a surprise because it is the hieropoioi, and not the epistatai, who are entrusted with the care of all things relating to the first-fruits in IG I^3 78, the decree regulating the first-fruits (text and translation given below, pp. 36–39). There the hieropoioi are to be the recipients of the first-fruits collected (line 9); they are to build three σίροι to house the barley and wheat collected (line 11) from the Athenians and their allies; and it is the hieropoioi who are to offer, according to the specifications of the Eumolpidae, the sacrifices there enumerated (lines 34-40). These sacrifices, which all entail animals, require the sale, presumably, of at least part of the first-fruits received in order to buy the necessary animals—at least such seems a reasonable interpretation of θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶ πελανῶ κτλ. Finally, it is the hieropoioi who are responsible for the sale of extra wheat and barley and subsequent dedications which are to be made from the proceeds of this sale, that is, the hieropoioi along with the Boule according to the direction of the Demos.

The nature of the first-fruits, their collection and finally what is to be done with them once they are collected are carefully and clearly set forth in IG I^3 78. Nowhere in the decree is there any mention of the epistatai. The hieropoioi are to be the officers in charge at every stage, from receipt of the barley and wheat to the setting up of dedications made possible by the sale of the excess first-fruits. Clearly, then, the fact that IG I^3 391 lists the receipt by the epistatai of money from the grain of the first-fruits indicates that if IG I^3 78 predates IG I^3 391 a change has taken place in the administration of the first-fruits at the very least and possibly in the administration *of the whole sanctuary* of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis at some time between the two documents. The existence of surplus money from the first-fruits might suggest that dedications were no longer being made at this time.

The fact that the board of epistatai is now functioning on a quadrennial, not annual, basis shows that some change has taken place in the sanctuary's administration since the establishment of the epistatai in IG I^3 32.

3. IG I³ 386 (see text below, part II) begins ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπὶ Εὐκτέμ[ονος ἄρχοντος]. The board issuing these accounts[6] in 408/7 are ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι, no longer ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν as in IG I³ 391. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the boards referred to here in IG I³ 386-387 and 391 are the same, rather than to assume a multiplicity of boards with different but similar names, and that Ἐλευσῖνι has simply replaced Ἐλευσινόθεν.

The prescripts of IG I³ 386-387 clearly show three annual boards in succession.[7] With IG I³ 386 firmly dated by archon to 408/7 and IG I³ 386-387 comprising the records handed down from one board of epistatai to the next, we actually have evidence here for three consecutive yearly boards—409/8 (386), 408/7 (386) and 407/6 (387).

The composition of these boards of epistatai can be stated as follows. IG I³ 386 (408/7) names two members along with a secretary: Ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπὶ Εὐκτέμ[ονος ἄρχοντος ....[9]....]τος Πειραιεύς Μενεκλῆς ἱπποτομάδες, hoῖς Ἀμφισθένες Ποτάμιος ἐγραμμάτευε τάδε παρελᾰ́[βομεν παρὰ τὸν προτέρον ἐ]πιστατὸν, παρ' Εὐφιλέτο Κεφισιὸς καὶ χσυναρχόντον, hoῖς Κτῆσος Συμπαλέττιος ἐγραμμάτ[ευε]. The word συνάρχοντες does not appear in the text, nor does there seem to be a way to restore it for the board of 408/7. Thus there may have been only a three member board (including a secretary) for 408/7. The board of 409/8 is identified by the name of one official, the secretary, and χσυνάρχοντες, so we can safely infer that there were at least four members. In 407/6 there were at least five members, including the secretary, since 387.1 preserves part of one name, the beginning of another and καὶ] χσυνάρχοσι hoῖς Σμικυθίον ἡλαιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε.

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[6] The nature of these inventory-accounts is unusual, not as seen from the document creating the board, but with respect to other such documents. For the purpose of definition, IG I³ 386-387 can be conveniently referred to as account-inventories; that is, they record receipts and expenditures while also listing an inventory of those things belonging to the Goddesses on the Acropolis, in the City Eleusinion and in the sanctuary at Eleusis. Indeed, IG I³ 386-387 may be regarded as unique in that they combined inventories with accounts. There are no real Attic parallels to these inscriptions. Only Delos provides any comparable records, yet even here there are notable differences, including the fact that the accounts are clearly differentiated from the sections recording inventories. In addition, the fragments (IG I³ 388-390; 392-394: nos. 4-5 below) suggest that, in fact, the epistatai normally issued separate records for their accounts and inventories. It is possible that this combined format was a temporary one used during the Decelean war. According to Linders (*Treasurers* 25-32) there were probably many similar records made in most Greek sanctuaries, but most were not inscribed on stone, and so were not preserved. Thus IG I³ 386-387 may be unique among existing records, but not necessarily unique among all the records issued.

[7] The entire text is edited below, part II. P. Davis maintained in his thesis (*Some Eleusinian Building Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1930) 7) that the board of epistatai issuing 386-387 was quadrennial, not annual, but that is not borne out by the headings of the two documents.

So the boards of 409/8 and 407/6, where συνάρχοντες appear, were likely comprised of at least five members as was originally specified, although there exists the possibility of only a three-man board for 408/7. While it has occasioned difficulty for some scholars, this variability in the number of epistatai is not without parallel. Linders cited evidence for the fluctuation in the numbers of both the treasurers of Athena and the Athenian amphictyons of Delos.[8] Develin presented another possibility. Citing IG I^3 383 (429/8) where only five treasurers of the Other Gods are listed, Develin proposed that these five were not the total number, but served to represent the board. He concluded that the practice of naming this board, at least, was flexible with respect to the number of treasurers named and the order in which they were named.[9] This seems quite an unsatisfactory explanation of the evidence. In addition to IG I^3 383, the prescript of IG I^3 458 lists eight treasurers of Athena while the prescript of IG I^3 454 has room only for three. Given that the term συνάρχοντες is used precisely to designate a board with a greater number of members than simply those listed, the absence of this term along with a varying number of members in the extant documents listed suggests only one explanation: there were boards composed of varying numbers. Variability in the number of members of these boards is thus likely to have occurred more frequently than previously recognized.

The board issuing IG I^3 386-387 corresponds well in composition and term with the original board as it was created in IG I^3 32. This implies that another change in administration took place between this document and the preceding (**no. 2**).

4. IG I^3 388–390, dated by Lewis (I^3) between 420–405, are also inventories listing valuables belonging to the Two Goddesses. Because of the correspondence in the items listed in these fragments with I^3 386 (I^3 388=386.45–58; I^3 389=386.43–67; I^3 390=386.11–24), we can conclude that these, too, were most likely issued by the epistatai.

5. IG I^3 392–394, dated c.a. 420, offer accounts of expenses for Eleusis and the City Eleusinion possibly following on IG I^3 79, the document ordering the new

[8] Linders, *Treasurers* 44 with notes.

[9] R. Develin, "Prytany Systems and Eponyms for Financial Boards in Athens," *Klio* 68 (1986) 82-83. Develin discounted Kolbe's (*Philologus* 38 (1929) 262) evidence, cited by Tréheux (*EAC* 3(1965) 12-15), which showed that of the twenty-three known colleges of the Treasurers of the Other Gods and Treasurers of Athena in the fourth century only nine were complete. Further examination of these fourth century records (e.g. IG II^2 1428, 1443) reveals prescripts where eight members are named and adequate room is available to accommodate the names of all ten members, if in fact there were ten, which makes Develin's hypothesis increasingly unlikely.

bridge over the Rheitoi.

Neither **no. 4** nor **no. 5** offers any additional information for the name, number or term of the epistatai, although they do confirm the picture offered by the preceding documents of the epistatai as the chief overseers (financial, building and maintenance) of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses.

6. The Law concerning the Mysteries (*Hesperia* 49 (1980) 258–288 = *SEG* 30.61), dated approximately between 368/7 and 348/7, provides a very extensive set of regulations governing the Mysteries. The epistatai are named on Side B, frg. a, line 8 and their duties include oversight of the Goddesses' capital: ἐ]πιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τ̣ο[ῦ Ἐλευσῖνι ἱεροῦ.... το]ῦ τ̣οῖν Θεοῖν ἀργυρίου (lines 23–24).[10] Nothing further can be said of the composition of this board of epistatai (their number, term or name) from this document.

7. IG II² 1541 records the *paradosis* of sanctuary possessions by Leptines of Koile to the tamiai of the Other Gods who then hand them over in the archonship of Charikleides (363/2) to a board referred to simply as the epistatai. These epistatai in turn hand them over to their successors, also referred to simply as epistatai, in the archonship of Elpinos (356/5). (Similar transfers of goods back to local officials are paralleled at sanctuaries at Brauron (IG II² 1524) and Delos (ID 442B 142)).[11] The relevant text is as follows (lines 2–7):

τάδε παρέδωκε Λεπτίνης ἐκ Κοί τοῖς ταμίαις τῶν
ἄλλων θεῶν Χαιρεστράτωι Κολλυτεῖ καὶ συνά[ρ]-
χουσι ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος, οἳ δὲ ταμία[ι]
5 τοῖς ἐπιστάταις Ἀμφικτύονι Ἀφιδναίωι καὶ συνά-
ρχουσι, οἳ δ' ἐπιστάται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις Νικοδήμ-
ωι Ἀθμονεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσι ἐπὶ Ἐλπίνου ἄρχοντο[ς]·

Both boards of epistatai are referred to only by the term epistatai. The tamiai make their transmission τοῖς ἐπιστάταις Ἀμφικτύονι Ἀφιδναίωι καὶ συνάρχουσι (lines 5-6) who in turn hand them over τοῖς ἐπιστάταις Νικοδήμωι Ἀθμονεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσι (lines 6-7). Thus we can say that both boards consisted of at least three members with no secretary recorded for either.

[10] Fourteen lines intervene between the appearance of the epistatai in line 8 and the infinitive ἐπιμελεῖσθαι in line 23. Nevertheless, the functions listed in lines 23-24 are likely to be theirs. (The epistatai also appear on side A, a+b, line 48.) See K. Clinton, "A Law in the City Eleusinion Concerning the Mysteries," *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 287.

[11] Linders (*Treasurers* 51) cited a similar *paradosis* from tamiai to local officials.

The dates of the two *paradoseis* can be fixed by the archon names given. The tamiai make their *paradosis* to the first board of epistatai in 363/2 while these epistatai hand over the objects recorded in 356/5. This suggests that we are again dealing with a board of more than annual tenure in this period of the fourth century. Specifically, the first board of epistatai seems to be in office for eight years, which again must indicate some change in the administration of the sanctuary between 407/6 and 363/2. The extended term of office by the epistatai might reflect some extraordinary situation, as does perhaps the possession by the tamiai of the Other Gods of items belonging to the Two Goddesses.[12]

While it is unclear what Leptines has to do with the possessions and why he hands them over to the tamiai in IG II^2 1541, it is probably safe to conclude that the objects transferred to the epistatai always belonged to the sanctuary at Eleusis.[13] Control of this miscellaneous collection of things by the tamiai does seem to point to a period of concurrent jurisdiction by the tamiai and the epistatai, at least over part of the sanctuary's possessions, at this period in the fourth century. See below, part II, commentary on IG I^3 386.5, for further discussion of Eleusinian assets transferred to Athens after 406. The transfer of these items from the tamiai of the Other Gods to the epistatai would then seem to argue in favor of a movement towards more complete control by

[12] This inscription and its parallels at Brauron and Delos thus seem to provide evidence for the local administration of sanctuaries rather than centralized control by the tamiai of the Other Gods. See below (n. 13) for a brief discussion. This subject is dealt with in considerably more detail by Linders, *Treasurers* 60. See also Ferguson 116, and Clinton, *Treasures* 59-60.

[13] Until recently, the institution of the treasurers of the Other Gods (ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν) was seen as marking the physical removal of the treasures (chiefly gold and silver) belonging to all of the Attic gods (with the possible exception of Demeter and Kore) to the Acropolis where they were under the centralized control of these newly formed treasurers and where they could serve as part of the financial resources for Athens described by Thucydides (2.13.3-5). (For a summary of the view current before Linders, with corresponding bibliography, see Linders, *Treasurers* 1-3 with notes.) Centralization on the Acropolis under the treasurers of the Other Gods was tantamount to secularization, in the view of many scholars. Linders, however, has shown that the evidence does not permit such a conclusion. (Linders, *Treasurers* 3 ff.) In summary, the Kallias decree (IG I^3 52) shows that money had already been borrowed by the Athenians from the Other Gods *before* any treasurers of the Other Gods existed; that while some treasures would have been removed to the Acropolis for safekeeping, and presumably continued access, the majority of what belonged to the Other Gods would have remained in their respective local sanctuaries under the administration of the local officials, viz. the epistatai, hieropoioi or tamiai, named in the Kallias decree. Indeed, the concept of secularization is an anachronism that would have been totally foreign to a fifth century Greek; indeed, the loans made by the religious sanctuaries, far from being secularized, only served to foster the already strong interdependence existing between man and god.

the local sanctuaries at this period.[14]

8. IG II² 1544, published in 329/8, preserves the most complete prescript of any of the records issued by the epistatai.

τάδε παρ[έ]δοσαν ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἀντισθένης Ἀντικράτους Ἰκαρι[ε]ύς, Ἀμφιετίδης Θεοπόμπου Παιονίδης, Δημοκλείδης Φιλοκλέου[ς E]ἰτεαῖος, Θεόφιλος Καλλιμάχου Ἀχαρνεύς, Λαμπρίας Λαμπρίου Συ[π]αλήττιος, Ἀλεξίμαχος Τεισαμενοῦ ἐκ Κοίλης, Διόξενος Πλ[άτω]νος Τρικορύσιος, οἷς ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀγνόθεος vacat 10 Ἀ[λ]ωπεκῆθεν, ἐπιστάταις τοῖς ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος Καλλέαι Καλλίππ(ου) Λαμπτρεῖ, Χαιριγένει Χαιρεφῶντος Μυρρινουσίωι, Πολυεύχηι Ἀνταγόρου Περιθοίδηι, Πολυμήδηι Διειτρέφους Φλυεῖ, Τεισίαι Δεξιθέου Φλυεῖ, Πεισίαι Ἀριστοκράτους Μαραθωνίωι, Εὐαινέτωι Εὐθυδίκου Ἀναφλυστίωι, οἷς ἐγραμμάτευεν Θουκριτίδης Καλλίο Θορίκιος·[v]

Here the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν comprise a board of eight members, including a secretary, all of whose names and their demotics are recorded (lines 1-5). This board of eight which served for four years, and who receive this *paradosis* from their predecessors recorded in IG II² 1543 (which preserves part of the prescript and only a few lines of inventory), in turn transfers the properties of the Goddesses to another board of eight, including their secretary, whose members' full names complete with patronymics and demotics are recorded (lines 6-11).

From the evidence provided by the demotics of the board members in the prescript here, Linders inferred that the epistatai were, although not a ten member board, elected with consideration given, as far as possible, to representation of the phylai and listed in such a way as to reflect that consideration.[15] While this seems to have been the case with the Athenian amphictyons at Delos, the fact that one phyle is represented twice here argues against such a conclusion. IG II² 1544 mainly lists properties of the Goddesses as well as dedications made, but it also includes weighed money.

9. IG II² 1666 is an inscription which appears to detail the specifications for

[14] Ferguson (p. 93, n. 2) argued for a movement towards decentralization. Agreement with him on this point does not, however, conflict with Linder's contention that there never was complete centralization.

[15] Linders, *AB* 34-35.

the porch of the Telesterion. The text printed in IG II^2 1666 gives the heading as ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίο ἐ[μίσθωσαν.[16]

In his edition of Eleusinian inscriptions, Clinton now reads a clear vertical stroke in the 19th stoichos: so ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι οἵ[δε should be adopted as the most probable heading. Thus there is no need to assume the creation of a special board for the supervision of the work here specified. We have seen ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι as the board named in IG I^3 386-387, and Ἐλευσῖνι is attested numerous other times as a *dativus loci*.[17] Rubensohn's argument that the unattested name ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίου is justified because of the nature of the inscription must, therefore, also be rejected. This inscription is a building inscription in its true sense, not an account of expenditures, as e.g. IG II^2 1672 and 1673. Rather than a board created with an otherwise unattested name especially for the building of the portico, we have here the board of epistatai, named in a previously attested form, performing duties related to building activities. Moreover, the likely restoration of Nicodemus as one of the named epistatai in the prescript (lines 3–4) makes this document the work of the same board of epistatai who took office in 356/5 (IG II^2 1541 = **no. 7**).

10. IG II^2 1673, an account of the epistatai of Eleusis evidently of the year 333/2,[18] does not preserve the name of the epistatai, by that designation, at any point. Because reference is made to a board in lines 12, 13, 24, and 53, because of the nature of the document as an Eleusinian account, and because of the fact that the only board in charge of physical maintenance of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν, it can reasonably be

[16] The reading ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟ has been variously restored: ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίου; ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίο ἐ[μίσθωσαν... where Ἐλευσινίο is considered equivalent to Ἐλευσινόθεν; and ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι ο[ἵδε κτλ. The reading ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίου connects the board very closely with the work being specified, hence ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινίου ἐργασίας or στοᾶς using ἐπιστάται Προπυλαίο ἐργασίας as a parallel. See Davis (*supra*, n. 7) 8-9, for a full discussion.

[17] Meisterhans 208, number 23.

[18] Clinton, *Inscriptions* 83-136. Clinton placed IG II^2 1673 in an intercalary year during Lycurgus' financial administration, possibly 336/5, 333/2, 330/29, 328/7 or 325/4. No date after 329/8, the date of II^2 1672, is likely, given that 1) the less systematic nature of II^2 1673 suggests that it should be earlier than 1672 with its more systematic organization; 2) 1673 includes payment for transportation of column drums while no such payments are recorded in 1672, suggesting that this phase of construction was already complete; 3) food is supplied in kind to slaves in 1673 while a fixed amount (3 obols/day) is listed in 1672 (because of the serious grain shortage from 330 to 326, payment in kind is unlikely during those years); 4) inflation in prices between 1672 and 1673 argues for 1673 being earlier than 1672. Clinton's date of 333/2 is based on consideration of the chronology of the other Eleusinian inscriptions relating to the Prostoon of the Telesterion (see especially pp. 117-31).

inferred that this is an account issued by the epistatai.[19] This account covers the expenditures for a whole year without chronological order while the following (**no. 11**) follows a rigorously chronological order by prytany. Other dissimilarities exist in both goods and services.

11. IG II² 1672 is a very detailed record of the expenditures of the epistatai given prytany by prytany for the year 329/8. The heading for the first prytany reads as follows: [λόγος ἐπιστατῶν Ἐλευσινόθεν καὶ] ταμιῶν τοῖν θεοῖν· ἐπὶ Κηφισοφῶντος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδο | [ς πρώτης πρυτανείας· τὸ περ]ιὸν [π]αρὰ ταμίαιν τοῖν θειοῖν ΧΗΗΔΓΙΙΤΧ, καὶ παρὰ ταμίαι τοῖν θεοῖν Νικο | [φίλωι Ἀλω : ΔΔΔ ⊢⊢III : καὶ π]α[ρὰ] τ[αμί]αι[ν] τοῖν [θ]εοῖ[ν] Νικοφίλωι Ἀλω : XXX : καὶ παρ' | ἐπιστάταις Ἐλευσινόθεν | [...· ἀπὸ τούτου τάδε ἀνή]λωτ[αι]·

Among the accounts of the tenth prytany are the totals of expenses for a four-year period, 332/1–329/8, the years for which the epistatai received the accounts in IG II² 1544 (= **no. 8**). Hence, the epistatai issuing this account make up an eight member board, including secretary, that served a four year term. The responsibilities of the epistatai are wide-ranging. Davis described IG II² 1672 thus: "The accounts of the epistatai are of a thoroughly miscellaneous character. The functions of the board, with a few notable exceptions, were about those of a modern committee of grounds and buildings. As repairs became necessary to the Eleusinian sanctuaries in Eleusis or Athens, this board exercised its functions and the accounts reflect their functions...."[20]

These accounts are issued jointly by the epistatai and the tamiai of the Two Goddesses (λόγος ἐπιστατῶν Ἐλευσινόθεν καὶ ταμιῶν τοῖν θεοῖν). These tamiai of the Two Goddesses are not in any way related to the tamiai of the Other Gods who seem to have ceased functioning independently some ten years before this inscription, by 341/0.[21] Concurrent jurisdiction of the tamiai of the Other Gods and the epistatai has already been seen in one of the inventories (IG II² 1541 = **no.7**). Shared jurisdiction not between local and state officials but between two groups of local officials might suggest differing spheres of competence for the two. Thus, a local board of tamiai sharing responsibility with the epistatai for the accounts of the sanctuary might imply, at first glance, that the epistatai would be involved with the actual building and maintenance, while the tamiai should act as the financial officers, if we were to

[19] Clinton, *Inscriptions* 88 and 110.

[20] Davis (*supra*, n. 7) 63.

[21] Ferguson 116-17. Develin (*Athenian Officials* (Cambridge 1989) 8) assumed that the tamiai of the Other Gods were amalgamated with the tamiai of Athena in 342/1, or possibly 346/5. So too Harris 30.

accept Cavaignac's view, mentioned above (see p. 3), that the epistatai are chiefly a board connected with building. But this is not permissible given the functions of the epistatai in the rest of the inscriptions already considered.[22]

The epistatai are not sole managers of the financial administration of the sanctuary at this point. Elter pointed out that "die Kasse der ἐπιστάται ist gegen die der ταμίαι ziemlich unbedeutend, sie deint nur als Handkasse und erhält nur für besondere Aufgaben der Epistatan Zuschüße von den Apodekten. Z.116.139."[23] The presence of the ταμίαι τοῖν θεοῖν in IG II^2 1672 clearly indicates that some change has occurred in the financial administration of the sanctuary, but the exact terms of this change and when it occurred cannot be determined from this inscription.

IG II^2 1672 also shows the epistatai and tamiai making disbursements to the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς for sacrifice (ἐπιθύσιμα) and dedication (ἀνάθημα τοῖν θεοῖν). These are clearly not the same hieropoioi who were active in the fifth century. As the name implies these hieropoioi are appointed from, or by, the Boule, although they are performing some of the functions of the fifth century board of that name (i.e., grain for the πέλανος).[24] The chief

[22] Busolt's answer to the question of why there were two boards of local officials was to suggest that the two groups, the epistatai and the tamiai, issued accounts together but actually were involved with different duties and responsible for different kinds of expenditures. "Die Epistatai and Tamiai setzen zwar gemeinsame Abrechnungen auf, aber sie hatten doch bei der Kassenverwaltung ihren eigenen Fonds; ein besonderer war außerdem noch für einen der beiden Tamiai ausgesondert. Die Ausgaben für Bauten, Ausbesserungen, Reinigungen, den Unterhalt der Tempelsklaven und ähnliche Zwecke wurden von den Epistatai bestritten, von den Tamiai fast alle für Opfer und Feste." G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, in I. von Muller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* IV, 2, revised by H. Swoboda (Munich 1920-26) 1103.

Busolt's view, however, is contradicted by the evidence provided in the inscription: ἀπὸ τούτου τάδε ἀνήλωται ... ἐπιστάταις εἰς θυσίαν μυστηρίοις (lines 41-42) If the tamiai are the ones in charge of all religious and sacrificial expenses, and the epistatai are in charge of those expenditures connected with the physical maintenance of the sanctuary, why are the epistatai paid here in connection with sacrifices? Moreover, while the sources of income are listed separately (e.g. τὸ περιὸν παρὰ ταμίαιν τοῖν θεοῖν ... καὶ παρ᾽ ἐπιστάταις Ἐλευσινόθεν, lines 38-39) the expenses seem to be paid jointly by the two boards with the exact source of the money used to pay for these various expenditures not recorded. Given that there is no indication of any such division of areas of concern or competence present in such an otherwise well organized account, Busolt's hypothesis is not justified.

[23] A. Elter, *Ein Athenisches Gesetz über die Eleusinische Aparche* (Bonn 1914) 40-41.

[24] The exact mode of selection of the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐκ βουλῆς who appear here in IG II^2 1672. 279ff. is not known. According to Rhodes (*A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, (Oxford 1981) 605), "there were large numbers of hieropoioi in Athens, usually boards of ten and often appointed from the boule, who cooperated with the relevant priests in the administration of festivals." Rhodes (*The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1985) 128, n.13) cited IG II^2 1749.80-84 as an example where all ten hieropoioi honored are members of the tribe Aegeis, and hence presumably in prytany at the time of the festival. From this he concluded that they were appointed from the

administrators of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore are the epistatai (in conjunction with the tamiai) and they control the receipt and sale of the aparche (IG II^2 1672.284).

12. **IG II^2 1545–1549** are fragments of accounts issued by the epistatai, from the fourth–third centuries, which offer no additional information.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding discussion of the inscriptions relating to the epistatai illustrates that the board, its composition and exact title underwent some changes from the date of its creation in the fifth century to the end of the fourth century. That the title, number of officials, and the tenure of the board issuing all the subsequent documents are not identical in all details with the board created in IG I^3 32 should be seen as illustrative of the organic nature of the sanctuary's administrative needs and how those needs were met.

Composition and term

IG I^3 32 (= **no. 1**) is the decree that creates the board of epistatai to oversee the χρέματα of the Two Goddesses. It prescribes that these epistatai be a board of five men, including their secretary, who are to serve for one year. The boards mentioned in IG I^3 386-387 (= **no. 3**) are all annual and all of them may also have been five–member boards (but one cannot say for sure on the basis of the prescripts preserved). IG II^2 1672 (= **no. 11**) and 1673 (= **no. 10**) are both annual accounts but we know that IG II^2 1672 was not issued by an annual board.

The boards appear to be quadrennial in: IG I^3 391 (= **no. 2**), II^2 1544 (= **no. 8**), and 1672 (= **no. 11**). IG II^2 1541 (= **no. 7**) presents a board with an eight year term (for the board making the *paradosis*). In II^2 1541 (= **no. 7**) and 1666 (= **no. 9**) the term of the incoming board is not known, but quadrennial or quadrennial with two terms seems probable. On the basis of these inscriptions we can only say that we have evidence for both annual and quadrennial boards in both the fifth and fourth centuries. The sequence of terms of the boards of epistatai was as follows: annual (**no. 1** = IG I^3 32); quadrennial (**no. 2** = I^3 391); annual (**no. 3** = I^3 386–387); eight year (**no. 7** = II^2 1541);

Boule at this time. He noted that prior to 353/2, when the law of Chairemonides (IG II^3 140) reorganized the first-fruits and gave responsibility for their oversight to the Boule, the hieropoioi may not have been appointed by the Boule. *Cf.* Elter's restoration of IG II^2 140.25-26 Add. (ἐ[λομένη δ' ἱεροποιοὺς δέκα] | ἡ βουλὴ [τὰ τ' ἄλλα πάντα ποιήσει κ]|αὶ θύσει), which was not adopted by Sokolowski, *LSCG Supp.* 13.

See K. Clinton, "IG I^2 5, The Eleusinia, and The Eleusinians," *AJP* 100 (1979) 1-12, for discussion of the ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσινίων.

quadrennial (**nos. 8 and 11** = II² 1544; 1672). Quadrennial service might indicate that circumstances arose which dictated the continued re-election and service of the existing board. Certainly in the period covered by IG I³ 391 (422-418)(= **no. 2**) there might have been a shortage, because of the war, of those able or willing to serve. Or perhaps it was simply a matter of convenience for these officials to continue in office.

With regard to the number of members, the evidence for the fifth century suggests the likelihood of a five-man board. The epistatai of IG³ 391 (= **no. 2**) and II² 1541 (= **no. 7**) were at least three in number and possibly five; the board from which the items listed in I³ 386 (= **no. 3**) were received and the board to which they pass on the items listed in I³ 387 (= **no. 3**) were also probably five-man boards. In the fourth century we find an eight-man board in II² 1543 (= **no. 8**), 1544 (= **no. 8**), and hence 1666 (= **no. 9**) (on the basis of restoration). Only the board issuing I³ 386 (= **no. 3**) seems possibly to have been composed of fewer than five members. Parallels for this fluctuation in the number of members of a board found in Delos and Athens suggest that this was a more frequent occurrence than previously assumed.

Name

The name of the board with which we are dealing is derived from the function specified in IG I³ 32: ἐπιστêναι τοῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν. However, this decree gives no locative by which to identify this particular board. We see later a variation between ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι (**no. 3** = IG I³ 386, **no. 9** = II² 1666) and ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν (**no. 2** = IG I³ 391, **no. 8** = II² 1544, **no. 11** = 1672). The term ἐπιστάται by itself occurs only in IG II² 1541 (= **no. 7**). There appears to be no reason to attach special significance to the use of either of the two names. Both Ἐλευσῖνι and Ἐλευσινόθεν are locatives of approximately the same force.[25] It should also be noted that this variation in name is also characteristic of the hieropoioi, the board which both preceded and existed concurrently with the epistatai. They are referred to as both ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσινόθεν (IG I³ 78) and ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσῖνι (IG I³ 391 = **no. 2**). Interestingly, in the last case the hieropoioi are named ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσῖνι in the same inscription in which the epistatai are called ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν. Thus it seems that Ἐλευσῖνι and Ἐλευσινόθεν are equivalent.

Functions

The precise function of this board of epistatai is expressed by ἐπιστêναι τοῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν (IG I³ 32.11 = **no. 1**). Set forth later

[25] Meisterhans (*supra*, n. 17) and Rubensohn ("Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligistes," *JdI* 70 (1955) 21) both agree on this point.

in the same inscription is the fact that this task of overseeing the Goddesses' χρέματα is to include care of income and expenditures in addition to ensuring that the moneys owed to the Goddesses are repaid. Oversight of the sanctuary possessions is implied.

Thus, from all the evidence it is clear that we are dealing with *one* standing board of epistatai, whether they are referred to as ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι or ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν; that, while the exact number of this board and even its term of office fluctuated, their function as general overseers, caretakers of the wealth of the sanctuary and its physical maintenance, was established early on and did not really change in the period for which we have evidence. "En un mot ils apparaissent comme les administrateurs responsables de toute la fortune des déesses."[26]

That the epistatai assumed functions formerly reserved for the hieropoioi is evident in IG I^3 391 (= **no. 2**), where they receive the proceeds of the sale of the aparche, and possibly in IG II^2 1672 (= **no. 11**), where they are paid for performing certain sacrifices. The implied change in sanctuary organization that took place no later than 422 will be an important factor in our discussion (see below, Chapter Four) of the chronological relationship of these inscriptions to the First-fruits decree (IG I^3 78).

[26] Cavaignac 32-33.

Chapter Two

THE DATE OF THE EPISTATAI DECREE (IG I^3 32)

Before proceeding to the discussion of the date of the First-fruits decree it will be helpful to consider the date of IG I^3 32 which established the epistatai. A text and translation of IG I^3 32 is printed here for the reader's convenience.

[..]αι[.....[28].....]
[hι]ερ̣οποιὸς καὶ τ[.....[18].....]
[κ]αὶ ἀναλισκοντ[.....[19].....]
[..] τὸ αὐτὸ· προσαγό[ν]το[ν δὲ h]o̱ι πρυτάνες
πρὸς τὲν βολὲν τὸς [h]ε[ιρεμέν]ος hόταν δέ-
ονταˌι Θεσπιεὺς [εἰ̣πε· τὰ μὲν] ἄλλα καθάπε-
ρ τê[ι β]ο[λ]êι, ἄ[νδρας δὲ hελέσ]θ[αι Ἀ]θεναίο-
ν πέ[ν]τε, τούτ[ος δὲ φέρεν τέττ]αρας ὀβολὸ-
[ς] hέκασ[τ]ον π[α]ρὰ τὸν κολ[ακρ]ετὸν, hένα δ[ὲ]
[τ]ούτον [γρ]αμματε[ύ]ε[ν κατὰ] φσ̣ε̂[φ]ον· τούτο-
[ς] δὲ ἐπισ[τê]ναι [τ]οῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θ-
[ε]οῖν καθάπερ hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[ο]-
[ι]ς ἐπ̣εστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι·
[ἐχ]σομοσίαν δὲ μὲ ἐν[α]ι· [τὸς δὲ] hειρεμένο-
[ς] προσιόντας πρὸς τὲν βολέν, ἐάν τι ὀφελ-
ό[μ]ενον ê[ι] τοῖν θεοῖν, φρά[ζ]εν καὶ ἀ[ν]απρά-
[τ]τεν· ἄρχεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸ̣[ν] ὀμόσαντας με-
ταχσὺ τοῖν βομοῖν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ τὸ λοιπ-
ὸν κατὰ ταὐτὰ hαιρêσθαι κ[α]τ' ἐνιαυτὸν τ-
ὸς ἄνδ[ρ]ας· ἐπιμελêσθαι δὲ καὶ τôν ἐπετε-
ίον hὰ λαμβάνεται τ̣οῖ̣[ν θ]εοῖν καὶ ἐάν τι
[ἀ]πολολὸς πυνθάνονται [ἀ]νασόι[ζε]ν· τὸς δ-
ὲ λογιστὰς λογίζεσθαι Ἐλευσῖνι μὲν τὰ
Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνελομένα, ἐν ἄστει δὲ τὰ ἐν ἄσ-
τει ἀνελομένα ἀνακαλôντας τὸν ἀρχιτέ-
κτονα Κόροιβον καὶ Λυσανίαν ἐν τôι Ἐλε-
υσινίοι, Φαλερôι δὲ ἐν τôι hιερôι hὰ Φαλ-
ερόνδε ἀνέλοται· ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]

λιστα δέει μετὰ τὸν hιερέον καὶ τὲς β[ολ]-
ὲς βολευομένος τὸ λοιπόν· ἀνα[κ]αλὲν δ[ὲ ἀ]-
πὸ τὲς ἀ[ρ]χὲς ἀρχ[σ]αμένος hὲ Κτε[σ]ί[αι παρ]-
έ[δ]οκε[ν] τὰ χρέματα· γράφσαι δὲ τὸ [φσέφισ]-
μα ἐν στέλει Ἐλευσῖνι κα[ὶ ἐν ἄστει καὶ Φ]-
αλ[ε]ρῶι ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσιν[ίοι. Λυσανίας εἶπ]-
ε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά[περ Θεσπιεύς· τὲν δὲ ἀρ]-
[ίθμ]εσιν ποιῆσθα[ι τὸν χρεμάτον hὸν τῶι]
[τα]μίαι παρέδοκ[εν hε βολὲ τὸς ἐπιστάτα]-
[ς καὶ] τὸν ἀρχ[ι]τ[έκτονα .....[14].....]

The hieropoioi ----------

The prytanies are to bring the appointed men before the Boule whenever they request.

Thespieus moved, as an amendment, to select five men from the Athenians, with each of them to receive four obols from the kolakretai; one of the five is to be secretary by election. These men shall oversee the property of the Two Goddesses, just as those epistatai of the works on the Acropolis used to oversee the Temple and the Statue.

Refusal of office shall not be allowed. Those selected shall come before the Boule and make known and collect any debts owed to the Two Goddesses.

These men shall hold office for the year making an oath between the altars at Eleusis. In the future, these officials shall be selected in this same manner on an annual basis.

These men shall take charge also of the income received by the Two Goddesses, and if they learn that anything is missing they shall recover it.

The Logistai shall make an account at Eleusis of the expenditures made at Eleusis, and in the city of those expenditures made in the Eleusinion, summoning the architect Koroibos and Lysanias, and in the sanctuary at Phaleron of the expenditures there.

The epistatai shall spend whatever is necessary in consultation with the priestly officials and the Boule in the future. And they shall summon beginning from the magistracy which handed over property to Ktesias.

This decree shall be inscribed on a stele in Eleusis and in the City Eleusinion and in the Eleusinion in Phaleron.

Lysanias moved, as an amendment to the motion made by Thespieus, to make a reckoning of the property which the the Boule handed over to the treasurer, the epistatai and the architect . . .

IG I^3 32 was first published in 1932 by Kourouniotis who described the text as stoichedon with lettering common to the period before 440 because of the presence of the three-barred sigma.[1] The use of the rough-breathing mark (H) throughout also supported an early date.[2] Other letters such as alpha and nu showed more classical forms. Kourouniotis concluded, therefore, that the decree should be dated between 446 and 440. The upper limit was provided by the comparison of this newly created board of epistatai to those epistatai in charge of the works on the Acropolis who used to oversee the Temple and the Statue (hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι (lines 12-13)). These epistatai of the temple and statue of Athena were identified by Kourouniotis with the epistatai in charge of the Parthenon and the chryselephantine statue of Athena who functioned from 446 to 433.[3] Hence a comparison to them must come after they began their term of office in 446. Kourouniotis found a difficulty, however, with this comparison because of the use of the imperfect (ἐπεστάτον), which implied that this board of commissioners had ceased to function. On this interpretation of the force of the imperfect, then, the inscription should be dated after 433/2, a date that he found unacceptable. How could the lost part of the decree, which Kourouniotis imagined to authorize the building of the Telesterion, be placed at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War? Although he acknowledged the difficulty of the imperfect, in the end Kourouniotis preferred a date around 446.[4]

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[1] K. Kourouniotis, "Οἱ Ἐπιστάται τοῦ Ἐλευσινιάκου ἱεροῦ καὶ ὁ ἀρχίτεκτον Κορoίβου," ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑΚΑ (Athens 1932) 173 ff.

[2] The three-barred sigma is the only characteristic of IG I^3 32 which suggests an early date since there is nothing linguistic to help determine its date otherwise. See Alan S. Henry, "The Dating of Fifth Century Attic Inscriptions," *CSCA* 11 (1979) 75-108, for an analysis of other characteristics useful in dating fifth century inscriptions and their applicability to IG I^3 32.

[3] Kourouniotis (*supra*, n. 1) 183-84.

[4] G. Richter ("A Roman Copy of the Eleusinian Relief," *ArchEph* (1937) 25, n. 6) supported Kourouniotis' dates, 446-440, on epigraphical grounds: the three-barred sigma, consistent use of the aspirate and the letter forms of the nu with its straight legs and the horizontal stroke of the alpha.

The identification of the epistatai who used to oversee the Temple and the Statue with those in charge of the Parthenon and the chryselephantine statue of Athena was challenged by Vallois, who cited the presence of the three-barred sigma and the use of the imperfect as the chief obstacles.[5] Vallois explained that the imperfect "ne pouvant résulter d'une attraction du temps de la proposition principale, un infinitif impératif, ni de l'aoriste εἶπε, beaucoup trop éloigné, cet imparfait a toute sa force de passé; il signifie que la collège en question avait terminé ou suspendu ses opérations lorsque le décret fût voté, c'ést-à-dire, en 447/6 au plus tard." If the board in question ceased to function no later than 446, clearly these were not the epistatai in charge of the Parthenon and the Parthenos statue. Vallois proposed that they be identified instead with the commissioners in charge of the Athena Promachos statue and the old temple of Athena Polias to give a new lower limit of 448/7 (after which time some qualifier would have to have been used with τôι νεôι). The classical forms of such letters as ν, β, ρ, and ϕ suggested a date after 452/1, which is the date Vallois finally assigned to IG I^3 32.[6]

Vallois underscored the difference between this newly created board of epistatai, who are to act more like tamiai, and those epistatai with whom they are compared, who were in charge of a temple and statue. He noted that these new epistatai are, first, to make known any debts owed to the Goddesses which they are to see repaid and, second, to oversee the revenue of the sanctuary. Vallois, however, thought that the actual control of the administration of the treasury and sanctuary would still be in the hands of the hieropoioi (with the epistatai functioning more limitedly as overseers of the treasury) and thus supplied the hieropoioi as subjects of the verb ἀναλίσκεν (which occurs before the amendment creating the epistatai). Vallois' interpretation is, however, contradicted by lines 28-30: ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]λιστα δέει μετὰ τôν hιερέον καὶ τêς β[ολ]êς βολευομένος τὸ λοιπόν. Even with the intervening clause concerning the auditing of accounts by the logistai, the epistatai are surely the subject of ἀναλίσκεν;[7] they, not the hieropoioi, are given general control

[5] R. Vallois, "La Réforme Administrative des Sanctuaires Eleusinians," *REA* 35 (1933) 195-200.

[6] M. Segre ("La Legge Ateniese Sull' Unificazione Della Moneta," *ClRh* 9 (1938) 167, n. 3) supported Vallois' objection to Kourouniotis' date on the basis of the imperfect and the three-barred sigma, which he thought further suggested a date before 446.

[7] B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery ("The Dating of Inscriptions to the Mid-Fifth Century, II," *JHS* 83 (1963) 114) noted the intervening clause, in which the logistai are the subjects, but argued correctly that the epistatai are the subject of ἀναλίσκεν. C. Picard ("L'Architect Coroibos et le Télestérion d'Éleusis," *CRAI* (1933) 14) asserted that the logistai, and not the epistatai, were in charge of expenditures. This is undoubtedly wrong. The logistai are to conduct an audit of the sums spent at the sanctuaries and for the City Eleusinion call forth Koroibos and Lysanias. They are being entrusted with a specific task, not a long term responsibility. Hence the logical subject

over the sanctuary's receipts and expenditures.

The hieropoioi do appear in the text, in what is presumed to be the main body of the decree, now lost. [hι]ερ̣οποιὸς καὶ τ [.....[18]..... | [κ]αὶ ἀναλισκοντ[.....[19].....]. This reading provides us with critical evidence for the concurrent existence of these two groups of officials, an important point for our consideration of the development of the two boards at Eleusis.[8] General control over the sanctuary by the epistatai after their creation is to be assumed by the terms of IG I^3 32.

If the identification of "the temple and statue" with the temple of Athena Polias and the statue of Athena Promachos solved the crux created by the three-barred sigma and the imperfect, can we then date IG I^3 32 to c. 450 without problems? Not according to Mattingly.[9] While a reference to the statue of Athena Promachos might be conceivable in IG I^3 32, Mattingly thought that a reference to the temple of Athena Polias was more problematic since there is no evidence for the restoration of the temple of Athena Polias before 450. Moreover, the statue of Athena Promachos and the temple of Athena Polias were never as closely associated as the Parthenon was with the Parthenos statue. While the imperfect makes identification of this board with the board in charge of the Parthenon between 446 and 433 difficult for those dating no document with a three-barred sigma later than 446, the lack of evidence that the temple of Athena Polias and the Promachos statue were ever associated or that temple construction occurred on the Acropolis in the 450s makes identification of this board with a hypothetical board in charge of these projects more problematic.[10]

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of ἀναλίσκεν must be the epistatai.

[8] Evidence for concurrent jurisdiction of the hieropoioi and the epistatai is critical. Given their co-existence and concurrent functioning in this document, which creates the epistatai, we should be wary of positing the existence of the epistatai at the time of IG I^3 78 when no mention is made of that board in IG I^3 78, as Meritt seemed to do (see below, p. 64). The logical inference to be drawn from their absence in the First-fruits decree is that they did not yet exist.

[9] H. B. Mattingly, "The Athenian Coinage Decree," *Historia* 10 (1961) 171-88.

[10] The history of construction on the Acropolis in the years between the Persian wars and the beginning of the construction of the Parthenon in 447/6 is not fixed with certainty. Nevertheless, the architectural and epigraphic evidence does allow some basis for reconstruction of the probable course of events. The orthodox view is that no construction followed the destruction of the Older Parthenon (begun 490-485) by the Persians in 480 and the beginning of the Parthenon in 447. For an introduction into this rather complex subject, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (Athens 1971); R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978); R. Meiggs, "The Political Implications of the Parthenon," Supplement to *Greece and Rome* X (1963) 36-45; and A. Burford, "The Builders of the Parthenon," Supplement to *Greece and Rome* X (1963) 23-35, all with bibliography.

R. Carpenter (*The Architects of the Parthenon* (Baltimore 1972)) put forth some very interesting arguments for a Kimonian Parthenon, which he thinks was subsequently modified, under

Mattingly further called attention to the emphasis in IG I^3 32 on the economy to be practiced by the epistatai in future expenditures and questioned the assumption that the main body of the document was concerned with a major new building program. In Mattingly's view, the approval of the priests and the Boule required for expenditures by the epistatai would serve to keep expenses down and would fit in with the era just prior to the Archidamian war. Mattingly also suggested a further connection between this decree, showing growing control by the Athenian state over the sanctuary, and the beginnings of the war. He believed that this growth in Athenian interest in the sanctuary "assumed international significance in 432 B.C., when Athens complained that Megarians were cultivating sacred land belonging to the Goddesses." He suggested "that this attack grew out of the Commissioners' (ἐπιστάται) action in reclaiming debts, rents or first-fruits of which the Goddesses were being deprived. When Megara refused satisfaction events moved swiftly towards the famous decree and war."[11] Although not a decisive argument, Mattingly also pointed out that the first extant accounts of the epistatai are from the Archidamian war (IG I^3 391). On the basis of all of this evidence, Mattingly dated IG I^3 32 to 432/1, a date from which he thought it had been forced by too rigid application of the rules of epigraphy.[12]

Meiggs rephrased Mattingly's assertion into a question. A redating of IG I^3 32, most commonly dated to c. 450 on the basis of the letter forms, is really a question of whether we should reject epigraphic criteria, specifically that dictum that no public decree with a three-barred sigma occurs after 445. He concluded that "if the current date is retained, the commissioners who are to

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Pericles' direction, into the Parthenon as we know it. If accepted, Carpenter's view might offer support for the association of the epistatai in charge of the Temple and the Statue with a board at work in the 450s. However, the generally accepted view is that there was no temple reconstruction undertaken between 479 and 447.

The epigraphic evidence for the boards of epistatai superintending work on the Acropolis consists of IG I^3 435 (dated by Lewis as "anno non multum a 450 distante"), the accounts for the Athena Promachos statue; I^3 436-451, the Parthenon accounts (447-433/2); and, I^3 453-460, the accounts of the chryselephantine statue of Athena. Epigraphic evidence for a board of officials concerned with reconstruction of the temple of Athena Polias is lacking. Given, therefore, that the board (or boards) on which the Eleusinian epistatai were modelled superintended both the temple and the statue (work, we may assume, which occurred close to the same time), it seems more reasonable to conclude that these epistatai are those in charge of the Parthenon and chryselephantine statue because of the close connection between the two. See C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester 1955), for a discussion of the cult statues and for comments on the so-called Dörpfeld temple south of the Erechtheum, the likeliest candidate for reconstruction in the 450s.

[11] Mattingly (*supra*, n. 9) 172.

[12] *Ibid* 173.

serve as a model must operate in the fifties. The statue could be the Athena Promachos and the temple could be the temporary reconstruction of the old temple of Athena Polias, or perhaps her temple together with her cult statue could be meant; but it may be admitted that here again much depends on the validity of letter forms as a criterion."[13]

A third alternative was offered by Meritt and Wade-Gery.[14] Agreeing that the commissioners to whom the newly created epistatai are compared (hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεσ[τ]ατο[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι) are the epistatai in charge of the Parthenon and the Parthenos statue, they disagreed that the imperfect required a date after 433/2. Instead, they explained ἐπεστάτον as an "imperfect of points assumed" and cited Plato's *Laws* (867D) for support. They translated as follows: "those men shall take charge of the Goddesses' property as those at Athens were to have charge (as we have seen) of the temple and statue." Thus the epistatai on the Acropolis would have come into being in an earlier piece of the same body of legislation, namely the Periclean building program in 448. They admitted, however, that "the imperfect of points assumed" is probably a rare colloquial usage.

Meiggs doubted this rare usage of the imperfect and preferred the identification of the board in question with the commissioners in charge of the work on the Acropolis in the fifties and a statue that may have been the Athena Promachos.[15] This, however, was an unsatisfactory reply to Mattingly's objection that such an identification is not justified because the phrase employed in IG I^3 32.13 does not correspond with our knowledge of the work which was done on the Acropolis in the 450s.

To counter the objection to so late a date for a document in which the three-barred sigma is used, Mattingly suggested that IG I^3 50, dated by Meritt to 434/3, is a copy of IG I^3 32 although it does not actually overlap any of the text preserved in IG I^3 32. He reiterated his belief that the measures of economy indicated by the audit to be conducted by the *logistai* as well as the controlled expenditures of the epistatai suit a date just before the war.[16] Returning to the question of the board to which the newly created epistatai are being compared, Mattingly asserted that the Parthenon and Parthenos boards "force themselves on us" and thus the force of the imperfect cannot be denied.[17] While there was

[13] R. Meiggs, "The Crisis of Athenian Imperialism," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 26.

[14] Meritt and Wade-Gery (*supra*, n. 7) 111-14.

[15] R. Meiggs, "The Dating of Fifth Century Attic Inscriptions," *JHS* 86 (1966) 96.

[16] H. B. Mattingly, "Athens, Delphi and Eleusis in the Late 420s," *PACA* 9 (1966) 69, 71-73.

[17] H. B. Mattingly, Review of D. Lewis, Editor, *Inscriptiones Graecae I^3: Inscriptiones Atticae anno Euclidis anteriores*. 1981. *AJP* 105 (1984) 347.

another great statue of Athena on the Acropolis (the Promachos dedicated c. 450), "no other temple surely was 'built' in Perikles' time than what we call the Parthenon."[18] Therefore, a date of 433/2, when the Parthenon board was discharged, ought to be the *terminus post quem* for IG I^3 32.

Indeed, as Clinton pointed out, no attempt to overcome the difficulty of the imperfect has succeeded. Noting that no epigraphic parallels have been offered for Meritt and Wade-Gery's "imperfect of points assumed," Clinton further noted that the example cited in Plato implies a continuous text, and so for that usage to apply here in IG I^3 32 we would have to posit the appointment of the epistatai ἐμ πόλει in an earlier section of this decree creating the Eleusinian epistatai. The imperfect, he concluded, must be accepted for what it is, a reference to a previously functioning board, which means a date after 433/2 for IG I^3 32.[19]

A. A. Papaioannou[20] also supported a date of 432 for IG I^3 32. Papaioannou thought that the mention of both boards of epistatai, those in charge of the temple and those in charge of the Statue on the Acropolis, required a date after 432, the date after which neither board functioned.

There appear to be two choices, then, for dating IG I^3 32: to follow the generally accepted epigraphic criteria based on the three-barred sigma and date the decree to c. 450 while ignoring the difficulty presented by identifying the board in lines 12-13 (hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεσ̣τ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι) with the Athena Promachos and some unidentified work on the Acropolis in the 450s; or, to identify these epistatai naturally with those in charge of the Parthenon and the chryselephantine statue of Athena and acknowledge that the imperfect requires a date after 433/2, the years when these two boards ceased to function,[21] and thereby date a document with three-barred sigmas significantly later than the customary *terminus post quem non* for this letter-form, viz. 446. The second choice is clearly preferable to the first. It

[18] H. B. Mattingly, "The Athenian Coinage Decree and the Assertion of Empire," *BAR* 343 (1987) 69.

[19] Clinton, *Telesterion* 256-57.

[20] A. A. Παπαϊωαννου, "Η ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΥ," ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ, *Studies Presented to George E. Mylonas 3* (Athens 1989) 231-44. His lengthy analysis of the dates of Koroibos' work on the Telesterion fails to notice, because he was apparently unaware of Clinton's articles, that the architect is to appear before the logistai only with reference to the expenditures at the City Eleusinion. For discussion of what IG I^3 32 can tell us about the date of construction of the classical Telesterion, see Clinton, *Telesterion*.

[21] The use of the imperfect perhaps allows for an earlier date. If it is used perfectly correctly here, in indirect discourse, ἐπεστάτον then indicates activity contemporaneous with this decree (i.e., with εἶπε); if loosely, which is quite common and highly probable, as Vallois saw, it must refer to boards which "used to be in charge of the temple and the statue."

makes much more sense to assume that one or more stone cutters continued to use an older form of sigma for another fifteen years or so than to resort to the desperate measures employed in support of a date in the early 440s.[22]

In Chapter Four we shall return to the question of the date of IG I^3 32 in connection with our examination of the date of IG I^3 78.

[22] Strong support (convincing even to D. M. Lewis) for dating this, and other documents, using the three-barred sigma as late as the 420s has now been provided by H. B. Mattingly ("New Light on the Athenian Standards Decree (ATL II, D 14)," *Klio* 75 (1993) 99-102). Working from the Hamaxitos copy of the Athenian Standards Decree, Mattingly has convincingly argued for a date of 425/4 for this decree long dated to c. 449 because of the use of the three-barred sigma in one (of its now seven known) copies, that from Kos. Because Hamaxitos only came under Athenian control after the collapse of the Mytilenean revolt in 427, an early date for the Standards Decree requires accepting the argument that all new members of the Athenian Empire were compelled to set up a copy of the decree immediately upon coming under Athenian control. Mattingly has shown that the combined force of the numismatic, literary and archaeological evidence far outweighs the value of the three-barred sigma for the dating of Athenian documents.

See also M. H. Chambers, R. Gallucci & P. Spanos, "Athens' Alliance with Egesta in the Year of Antiphon," *ZPE* 83 (1990) 38-63, for further evidence against the use of the three-barred sigma as requiring an early date.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST-FRUITS DECREE (IG I^3 78): A HISTORY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

Since the Eleusinian First-fruits decree (IG I^3 78 = IG I^2 76)[1] remains without a firm date, no further justification need be given for yet another attempt to date it. The exact date when the Athenians passed this decree that sets forth the terms by which all Athenians and their allies are to offer first-fruits and all Hellenic cities that wish are urged to join in this offering, in recognition of Demeter's—and Athens'—beneficence in sharing the gift of grain, would add much to our understanding of financial, political and religious developments in the latter half of the fifth century. The importance of its precise date is underscored by the numerous modern attempts to discover it. If we are to make any progress, however, we must first deal with the decree itself—and the information it provides—as it relates to other Eleusinian documents. It would be wrong to begin by attempting to use the decree as evidence for preconceived notions about particular periods or other inscriptions. Our examination of the board of epistatai in the fifth century has shown that closer consideration should be given to the board involved in this aparche inscription (as well as those boards issuing related documents in the fifth century) in order to see if a more detailed understanding of the boards involved with the sanctuary can lead us to a precise date for IG I^3 78.

Before proceeding to the decree itself, it will be useful to review, in chronological order, the scholarship which the First-fruits decree has occasioned since its discovery. This review of the vast scholarship on the date is presented

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[1] Texts of the Eleusinian First-fruits decree have been published, sometimes with commentary, in the following places, listed here in chronological order. P. Eustratiadis, 'Αθήναιον 8 (1880) 405-10; P. Foucart, *BCH* 4 (1880) 225-56; Kirchhoff, IG I supp. p. 59, no. 27b (Berlin 1873-1903); L. Ziehen, *LGS* II.4 (Leipzig, 1896-1906); Michel, *RIG* 71 (Brussels 1900); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*^{2} 20 (Leipzig 1898-1901); Kirchner, *Sylloge*^{3} 83 (Leipzig 1917); M. N. Tod, *GHI* I^2 74 (Oxford 1933), Hiller v. Gaertringen as IG I^2 76 (Berlin 1913-1940), and D. M. Lewis as IG I^3 78 (Berlin 1981), by which we shall refer to the decree. Recent publications can also be found in Sokolowski, *LSCG* 5 (Paris 1969) and Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 73 (Oxford 1969).

The First-fruits decree has been translated in collections of documents by Napthali Lewis, *The Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto 1971) and C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the end of the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge 1983).

here in order to make future study of the literature and future efforts to date the First-fruits decree more convenient. By setting forth here in chronological order a systematic and complete review, full consideration can be given to each argument proposed. This approach also makes it possible to see which of the arguments so far advanced can be usefully incorporated into this, and other future, efforts at dating the First-fruits decree and which must be set aside. As Tréheux aptly summarized the value of his similar review of the considerable scholarship on I^2 255a (IG I^3 315-316) before he offered his own theory: "Après avoir démoli, l'heure est enfin venue de rébâtir. Le tâche devrait être simplifiée si l'enquête critique qui précède a judicieusement alloti, dans chaque chantier, les matériaux hors d'usage et ceux qui sont propres au remploi."[2] In setting forth the opinions put forward in the past, I hope in addition to call attention to and eliminate certain misconceptions which have been perpetuated, especially concerning epigraphic characteristics of this document.

A list of publications in which attempts have been made to date the First-fruits decree follows in chronological order (the number which precedes each item also appears in parenthesis when each is discussed individually). For convenience, each proposed date is included at this point along with the page reference where it is discussed below.

1. P. Eustratiades, "Ψήφισμα Ἀττικὸν ἐκ τῶν πρὸ Εὐκλείδου," Ἀθήναιον 8 (1880) 405-410. [Proposed date: 459-420; discussion below, p. 39.]

2. P. Foucart, "Inscription d'Éleusis du V^me^ Siècle," *BCH* 4 (1880) 225-256. [Proposed date: 445; discussion below, p. 40.]

3. J. H. Lipsius, "Zum griechischen Kalenderwesen," *LSKPh* 3 (1880) 207-215. [Proposed date: 439; discussion below, p. 40.]

4. G. Loeschcke, *Die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias* (Diss. Univ. Dorpatensis [Tartu, Estonia] 1883) 18-20. [Proposed date: 435; discussion below, pp. 40-41.]

5. A. Schmidt, "Das Eleusinische Steuerdecret aus der Höhezeit des Perikles," *JKPh* 131 (1885) 681-744. [Proposed date: 445-444; discussion below, p. 41.]

[2] J. Tréheux, "Études sur les Inventaire Attiques," *EAC* 3 (1965) 30.

6. K. Schäfer, "Zum Eleusinischen Steuerdecret," *JKPh* 133 (1886) 173–175. [Critique of no. **5**; discussion below, p. 41.]

7. O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis and Samothrake* (Berlin 1892) 36–37; 52; 77–81, n. 23 at 205–06; n. 25 at 206. [Proposed date: after 445; discussion below, p. 41.]

8. B. Keil, "Das System des Kleisthenischen Staatskalenders," *Hermes* 29 (1894) 321-372. [Critique of no. **5**; discussion below, p. 41.]

9. J. W. White, "ΤΟ ΠΕΛΑΡΓΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ," *ArchEph* (1894) 25-62. [Proposed date: 446–431; discussion below, p. 41.]

10. E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Freiburg 1894). Translated by W. B. Hillis from the 8th edition (London 1925) 219–220. [Proposed date: 440; discussion below, p. 41.]

11. A. Körte, "Die Ausgrabungen am Westabhange der Akropolis IV," *AM* 21 (1896) 276-332. [Proposed date: 419/8; discussion below, pp. 42–44.]

12. H. Sauppe, "Attica et Eleusinia," *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin 1896) 729-734. [Proposed date: 446/444; discussion below, p. 44.]

13. I. von Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae* (Leipzig 1906) 19–27, no. 4. [Proposed date: 423; discussion below, pp. 44–46.]

14. G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* III.1 (Gotha 1897) 474-479. [Proposed date: 445–431; discussion below, p. 46.]

15. L. Ziehen, "Die panhellenische Bedeutung der eleusinische Mysterien," *Berichte des freien Deutschen Hochstiften zu Frankfurt am Main* 15 (1899) 200–214. [Proposed date: 423; discussion below, pp. 44–46.]

16. I. von Prott, "Bericht über griechische Sakralaltertümer," *Jahresbericht für Klassisches Altertum* 102 (1899) 114-116. [Proposed date: 422; discussion below, pp. 46-47.]

17. H. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eleusinische Kult* (Diss. Univ. Munich 1905) 109–111. [Proposed date: 423; discussion below, p. 47.]

18. A. Wilhelm, "Inschrift aus Athen," *JOEAI* 6 (1903) 10-15. [Proposed date: 430s–420; discussion below, pp. 47–49.]

19. E. Cavaignac, *Le trésor sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'en 404* (Versailles 1908) 20–23; 47. [Proposed date: c. 435; discussion below, pp. 50–51.]

20. R. B. Tanner, "The ΔΡΑΠΕΤΙΔΕΣ of Cratinus and the Eleusinian Tax Decree," *CP* 11 (1916) 65–94. [Proposed date: 443; discussion below, pp. 52–53.]

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48. H. B. Mattingly, "Note on IG I^2,76 (Eleusinian First-Fruits Decree)," *BCH* 87 (1963) 391. [Proposed date: 421; discussion below, p. 65.]

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63. G. Nenci, "Il 'Pelargico' (Thuc., II, 17 1–3; Parke–Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, II n.1) e la 'Zona Di Rispetto' nelle Città Greche Arcaiche," *Aparchai: nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias* (Pisa 1982) 35–43. [Proposed date: 423–421; discussion below, pp. 70-71.]

64. Victor D. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (Pisa 1983) 121. [Proposed date: 422?; discussion below, p. 71.]

65. H. B. Mattingly, "The Athenian Coinage Decree and the Assertion of Empire," *BAR* 343 (1987) 65–71. [Proposed date: late 420s; discussion below,

p. 71.]

66. K. Clinton, "The Date of the Classical Telesterion," ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ *Studies Presented to George Mylonas 2* (Athens 1987) 254–262. [A summary of my own argument, as set out in my dissertation.]

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Text of IG I³ 78

The text of IG I³ 78 is given here for the reader's convenience.

Eleusis copy

[Τιμο]τέλ[ε]ς Ἀχαρνε[ὺς] ἐγραμμάτευε.
[ἔδοχσ]εν τêι βολêι καὶ τôι δέμοι· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Τιμοτέ-
[λες ἐ]γρμμάτευε, Κυκνέας ἐπεστάτε· τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφῆς χσυνέ-
[γρ]αφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τô καρπô κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲ-
ν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν Ἀθεναίος ἀπὸ τôν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον [κ]-
ριθôν μὲ ἔλαττον ἢ hεκτέα, πυρôν δὲ ἀπὸ τôν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον μ-
ὲ ἔλαττον hεμιέκτεον· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιêι ἢ τ[οσοῦτο]-
ν ἢ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. ἐγλέγεν δὲ [τὸς δ]εμ-
άρχος κατὰ τὸς δέμος καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς
Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε. οἰκοδομêσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρῆς Ἐλευσῖν-
ι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκêι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς καὶ τôι ἀρ[χ]ιτ-
έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἔναι ἀπὸ τô ἀργυρίο τô τοῖν θεοῖν. τὸ[ν δὲ κα]-
ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν hὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τôν δεμάρ[χον],
ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά. τὰς δὲ πόλες [ἐγ]λ[ο]-
γέας hελέσθαι τô καρπô, καθότι ἂν δοκêι αὐτêσι ἄριστα ὸ καρπὸ-
[ς] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγλεχθêι, ἀποπεμφσάντον Ἀθέναζε·
τὸς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσι-
νόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε· ἐ[ὰ]ν δὲ μὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἐμερôν ˇˇˇˇ
ἐπειδὰν ἐπαγγελêι, παραδιδόντον τôν ἐκ τêς πόλεος hόθεν ἂν [ἦ]-
[ι] ὸ κα[ρπ]ός, εὐθυνόσθον hοι hιεροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν ˇ δραχμêσι [h]-
[έκασ]τος· καὶ παρὰ τôν δεμάρχον κατὰ ταὐτὰ παραδέχεσθαι. [κέρ]υ-
[κα]ς δὲ hελομένε hε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλλον[τ]ας [τὰ]
[νῦν] hεφσεφισμένα τôι δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἔναι hος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]-
οιπὸν hόταν δοκêι αὐτêι. κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ho hιεροφάντες καὶ [ὸ]
δαιδôχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς hέλλενας τô καρπô κατὰ
τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν. ἀναγράφσαντες δὲ ἐ[μ]

πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τῶ καρπῶ τῶ τε παρὰ τῶν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]-
[ê]μον hέκαστον καὶ τῶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν hεκάσ[τεν]
[κ]αταθέντον ἔν τε τôι Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν τôι βολ[ευτ]ε-
[ρ]ίοι. ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τêσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν [τ]ê[σι] hε-
[λ]λενικêσιν ἀπάσεσι, hόποι ἂν δοκêι αὐτêι δυνατὸν ἐναι, λ[έγο]ν-
τας μὲν κατὰ hὰ Ἀθεναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[νοι]-
[ς] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονται,
[κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν. παραδέχεσθαι δ-
ὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτον τôν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς hιεροποιὸς κα-
τὰ ταὐτά. θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶ πελανῶ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσhε]-
[γô]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν hεκα[τέρ]-
[αι ἀ]πὸ τôν κριθôν καὶ τôν πυρôν καὶ τôι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τôι [θε]-
ôι καὶ τêι θεâι καὶ τôι Εὐβόλοι hιερεῖον hεκάστοι τέλεον καὶ
τêι Ἀθεναίαι βôν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ-
οδομένος τὸς hιεροποιὸς μετὰ τêς βολêς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν-
αι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος hάττ᾽ ἂν τôι δέμοι τôι Ἀθεναίον δοκê-
ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, hότι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τêς ἀπαρχê-
ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ hελλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον· [τοῖ]ς δὲ ταῦτα ποιôσι
πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπία[ν, hοί]τινες ἂν
[μ]ὲ ἀδικôσι Ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ θεό ˅
[Λ]άμπον εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χσυγγραφαὶ τêς ἀπαρχês τῶ
καρπῶ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ χσυνγραφὰς καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγ-
ραφσάτο hο γραμματεὺς hο τêς βολêς ἐν στέλαιν δυοῖν λιθίναι-
ν καὶ καταθέτο τὲν μὲν Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τôι hιερôι, τὲν δὲ hετέραν [ἐ]
μ πόλει· hοι δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὸ στέλα· hοι δὲ κολ[ακρ]-
έται δόντον τὸ ἀργύριον. ταῦτα μὲν πε[ρ]ὶ τêς ἀπαρχês τῶ καρ[π]ô [τ]-
οῖν θεοῖν ἀναγράφσαι ἐς τὸ στέλ[α], μêνα δὲ ⋮⋮⋮ ἐμβάλλεν hεκατονβ-
αιôνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα. τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα horίσαι τὰ hιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ô]-
ι Πελαργικôι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐνhιδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τôι Πελα-
ργικôι ἄνευ τêς βολêς καὶ τῶ δέμο, μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ τῶ [Π]-
ελαργικῶ, μεδὲ γên ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος. ἐὰν δέ τις παραβαίνει ˅
τ⋮⋮⋮ούτον τι, ἀποτινέτο πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ἐσαγγελλέτο δὲ h-
[ο] βαλσιλεὺς ἐς τὲν βολέν. περὶ δὲ τῶ ἐλαίο ἀπαρχês χσυγγράφ-
σας Λάμπον ἐπιδειχσάτο τêι βολêι ἐπὶ τêς ἑνάτες πρυτανείας·
hε δὲ βολὲ ἐς τὸν δêμον ἐχσενενκέτο ἐπάναγκες.

Acropolis copy

[γέας hελέσθαι τ]ô καρπô, [καθότι ἂν δοκêι αὐτêσι ἄριστα hο καρπ]-
[ος ἐγλεγέσεσθ]αι· ἐπειδὰ[ν δὲ ἐγλεχθêι, ἀποπεμφσάντον Ἀθέναζ]-
[ε· τὸς δὲ ἀγαγό]ντας παραδι[δόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσ]-
[ινόθεν Ἐλευ]σῖνάδε· ἐὰν δὲ μ[ὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἐμερôν ἐπε]-

[ιδὰν ἐπαγγελ]ẽι, παραδιδόν[τον τôν ἐκ τẽς πόλεος hοπόθεν ἂν ẽι]
[ὸ καρπός εὐθ]υνέσθον hοι hι[εροποιοὶ χιλίαις δραχμαῖς hέκασ]-
[τος· καὶ παρὰ] τôν δεμάρχο[ν κατὰ ταὐτὰ παραδέχεσθαι. κέρυκας δ]-
[ὲ hελομένε h]ẹ β[ο]λ[ὲ κτλ.]

Synopsis of IG I³ 78

The prescript (1-4) informs us that Timoteles was secretary, Kekropis was the prytany in charge and Kykneas the epistates. No archon is named. The prescript further informs us that these are the recommendations of a commission of syngrapheis approved by the Boule and the Demos: τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφẽς χσυνέγραφσαν. The resolution is that first-fruits shall be offered to Demeter and Kore according to ancestral custom and the Delphic oracle: ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τô καρπô κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν (4-5). The amounts of barley (1/600) and wheat (1/1200) are specified (6-7). The procedure for the collection is then elaborated (8–10): the demarchs are to collect the first-fruits and deliver them to the hieropoioi. In order to accommodate the amount of grain expected, three new storehouses are to be built in a location to be determined by the hieropoioi and "the architect." They are to be paid for from the treasury of the Eleusinian Goddesses not from the first-fruits themselves (10–12). The allies are to offer first-fruits in a similar fashion (14-18). The manner of their collection is somewhat different in that ἐκλογẽς are to be chosen by the cities concerned to collect the grain and turn it over to the hieropoioi. Provisions for fining the hieropoioi who do not accept in a timely fashion the grain offered are specified (18-21). Heralds selected by the Boule will make the announcement of this decree as quickly as possible. Timing of future announcements is left to the discretion of the Boule (22-24). The hierophant and daduch are likewise (at the Mysteries) to call for the offering of the first-fruits on the basis of ancestral custom and the Delphic oracle (24-26). The hieropoioi are also to keep a record of the first–fruits brought in by both the demarchs and the ἐγλογẽς, setting up a record in the Eleusinion in Eleusis and in the city Bouleuterion (26-30). The Boule is then charged with the task of calling on all Greeks to join with the Athenians and their allies in the offering of the first-fruits, not ordering but urging them, again according to ancestral custom and the Delphic oracle (30-34). The hieropoioi are also charged with the receipt of anything offered by these cities (34-36). A list of the sacrifices which are to be made from the aparche according to the direction of the Eumolpidae is then given (36-40). Whatever grain remains is then to be sold by the hieropoioi and the proceeds used, in consultation with the Boule, for the setting up of dedications (ἀναθέματα) which are to be made according to the direction of the Demos (40-44). Finally a wish for prosperity and fruitfulness

is pronounced for all those doing no wrong against the Athenians or the Two Goddesses (44-46). This marks the end of the actual decree. An amendment proposed by Lampon follows (47–61). The amendment provides for the publication of this decree in two copies, one to be set up at Eleusis, the other in Athens (48-53). Lampon also calls for the intercalation of a second Hekatombaion by the new archon (53-54); the protection of the Pelargikon by the basileus who is to define the boundaries of the sanctuaries within it; new altars are not to be allowed within its limits without official sanction; and, the cutting and removal of stone from the area is prohibited. The penalty for transgression of these prescriptions is given (54-59). Finally Lampon is to report to the Boule in the ninth prytany to advise them on first-fruits from the oil crop. The Boule is to pass on to the Demos any further action necessary (59-61).

The decree is preserved on two stelai: the one preserving the whole text (IG I^3 78) was found near the church of S. Zacharias in Eleusis and is now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 10050); the smaller fragment (IG I^3 78b) from the Acropolis copy, which preserves lines 14–22, was found in the Plaka north of the Acropolis (EM 6817). Lampon's amendment (lines 48–53) calls for the inscription of the First-fruits decree in two copies, one to be set up in the sanctuary at Eleusis and the other ἐμ πόλει, on the Acropolis, thus suggesting the original location of the two stelai.

Review of the Scholarship

Nos. 1–10

The *editio princeps* of the Eleusinian First-Fruits decree was published by Eustratiadis (**no. 1**) in 1880, shortly after its discovery. The basic period of time into which the document fit was already apparent. I quote, at length, the view put forth by Eustratiadis because the *termini post quem* and *ante quem* have not significantly changed in the past century of scholarship.

> Ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ εἶναι γεγραμμένη κατὰ τὴν πρὸ Εὐκλείδου γραμματικήν, περιέχει δὲ ψήφισμα ἄνευ ἄρχοντος μετὰ προσθήκης εἰς αὐτό, γενομένης ὑπό τινος Λάμπονος. Καὶ ἔχει μὲν ἤδη τὸ σίγμα τετραμελές, οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς κεφαλαῖον Σ, καὶ δὲν δύναται νὰ ἦναι ἀρχαιοτέρα τῆς Ὀλ. 82,4 π.Χ. 459 (sic), ἀλλ' ἔχει ἔτι τὴν δοτικὴν πληθυντικὴν τῆς πρώτης κλίσεως εἰς -εσι, καὶ δὲν δύναται νὰ ἦναι νεωτέρα τῆς Ὀλ.90, π.Χ. 420.

Eustratiadis depended for his *terminus post quem* on the use of the four-barred sigma and on the use of the long form of the first declension dative plurals for his *terminus ante quem*. We should keep the latter of these two in

mind because it has been a subject of controversy since the publication of the Acropolis fragment by Wilhelm in 1903. The differences which exist between the Acropolis fragment and the Eleusinian copy of this decree will be discussed below; however, the lack of exact correspondence between the two copies makes arguments based on the epigraphical "requirements" of only one of the copies methodologically unsound.

Foucart (**no. 2**) published his own *editio princeps* with discussion, unaware of the edition already published by Eustratiadis. He was the first to attempt to date it precisely to the years following the conclusion of the thirty years' peace with Sparta (445). His reasons for dating were little different from Eustratiadis'. He cited the lack of archon's name, the use of the four-barred sigma and Ionian datives (-ησι), all pointing, he thought, to a date after 454 but before the Sicilian expedition. Because the call for any Greek cities who wished to join in offering first-fruits is untenable during the war, only the period after the peace of Nicias or the time of Pericles are possible. Of these, Foucart preferred the time of Pericles and especially that of the Panhellenic Congress. Foucart thus became the first to associate the panhellenic nature of the decree and its call to all Greeks to offer first-fruits to Demeter and Kore with Pericles' attempt to establish Athens as the leading city of the Greek world. Foucart was also the first to establish two periods, the Periclean era at the time of the Panhellenic Congress or the years following the peace of Nicias, as most suitable for the First-Fruits decree. Nothing inherent in the document, considered by itself, requires a choice of one of these two periods, but many have followed Foucart's division.

Lipsius (**no. 3**) in the same year questioned the relation of Lampon's amendment to the body of decree, questions which have been echoed periodically since he first voiced them. The subject, however, of greater concern to Lipsius was the significance of the intercalation of a second Hekatombaion and its possible bearing on the dating of the document. Working from a belief in close correspondence between the Attic and Delphic calendars, Lipsius saw the intercalation of a second Hekatombaion as unquestionably related to a desire to postpone the Pythian festival. Hence he assigned the document to the second year of an uneven Olympiad, the 85th (439), although he offered no additional support for this particular date or theory.

Loeschcke (**no. 4**) preferred another date for the decree, convinced that the relationship of the main body of the decree to the amendments could be found in their respective importance to the cult of Demeter. If the Eleusinion was located on or near the Areopagus, then Pericles' building program on the Acropolis would have constituted a great disturbance for the cult of Demeter.

Mnesicles' work on the Propylaia in 437, in particular, would have posed a grave danger to the position and prominence of the City Eleusinion. Lampon's amendment to preserve the sanctity of the Pelargikon would then be especially appropriate as an effort to counterbalance the call for the offering of the first-fruits, an expression of Periclean policy. A date in the spring of 435 thus places the decree in the same period as the trials of Phidias, Anaximenes and Aspasia. While Loeschcke's interpretation of the decree itself as a manifestation of opposition between Eleusis and Athens is dubious, his association of it with the building of the Propylaia by Mnesicles may offer grounds for dating.

Schmidt (**no. 5**) followed Foucart in dating the First-fruits document to 445-444, a period of truce when general peace existed. This date seems to depend somewhat on Lampon's departure for Thurii which Schmidt placed in 443. Although agreeing with the more orthodox dating of the period, Schmidt rejected the usual interpretation of μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα. He thought the expressions μῆνα ἐμβόλιμον ἐμβάλλειν or μῆνα ἐμβόλιμον ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα δεύτερον would be found if a month were then being intercalated. Despite the data amassed by Schmidt, his interpretation of this clause as defining the time limit for the delivery of the first-fruits was conclusively rebutted by Schäfer (**no. 6**) the following year and again by Keil (**no. 8**) several years later.

A date shortly after 445 was proposed by Rubensohn (**no. 7**) on the basis of composition and wording.[3] Rubensohn viewed the document as an example of Pericles' effort to gain greater pre-eminence for Athens by winning recognition of the panhellenic character of the two Eleusinian Goddesses.

White (**no. 9**) dated IG I^3 78 more generally between 446 and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. White's concern rested chiefly with the Pelargikon as a κοινὸν κτῆμα, whose violation this decree sought to correct. Working from the amendment, he concluded that the Pelargikon was not enclosed by a circuit-wall, and hence not capable of being protected at this time. According to White, Lampon's amendment would not necessarily have been effective.

Associating the decree with the spread of the Mysteries throughout the Greek world, Rohde (**no. 10**) wished to date IG I^3 78 to 440, which he considered the height of Athenian power.

[3] "Ihre Abfassung wird jetzt allgemein in die Zeit kurz nach 445 gesetzt," p. 36.

Körte (no. 11)

The desire of scholars to place the First-fruits decree as near to the earliest date permitted epigraphically by the four-barred sigma and especially to associate it with Pericles and the Panhellenic Congress recorded in Plutarch (*Pericles* 17) was questioned seriously for the first time by A. Körte (**no. 11**) in 1896. Körte freely admitted that the lettering of the inscription offered little help. "Die Schrift zwingt dazu keineswegs, sie beweist zunächst nur, daß die Inschrift nicht vor 444 verfaßt ist, nach unten aber läßt sie ziemlich weiten Spielraum...." Körte, however, thought that the particulars of the decree suggested a date around the time of the peace of Nicias. These included the omission of the aspirate eight times (lines 3, 15, 18, 20, 24, 31, 32, 47); the Ionic dative (-σι) found only with a-stems (lines 15, 20, 30 ff.); and the dative of o-stems always ending in -οις. Körte compared the First-fruits decree with other documents of later date, including the decree concerning the construction of the bridge over the Rheitoi (IG I^3 79), dated 421/0, which he felt to be older than this inscription, and so he dated the decree to the time around the peace of Nicias. The validity of using these epigraphical criteria for dating is extremely dubious. They will be discussed, however, after the evidence for the epigraphical characteristics has been examined (see below, pp. 47–50).

Critical to Körte's argument in favor of a date around the time of the peace of Nicias was his comparison of this decree with the first record we have of any proceeds from an offering of the first-fruits, namely the record of the epistatai receiving money from the hieropoioi beginning in 422/1 (IG I^3 391), money designated as from the aparche. While the importance of the political and religious implications of the First-fruits decree may fit in with our conception of the Periclean period of the 440s, it is inconceivable, Körte argued, that the ridiculously paltry sums recorded in IG I^3 391 could be a result of this First-fruits decree. Using figures from the fourth century, Körte calculated that the six drachmas handed over by the hieropoioi to the epistatai in 421, when added to the costs of the necessary sacrificial animals, indicated that the total revenue realized by the sale of the aparche was approximately 500 drachmas. Körte then reckoned that this figure was the equivalent of only 250 medimnoi of barley. In other words, the total crop for the year would have to come to about 150,000 medimnoi, less than half of the fourth century harvest of 400,000 medimnoi. Since it was inconceivable that a decree of the 440s could have fallen into such disuse by the 420s, Körte proposed to date it after IG I^3 391 and so after the peace of Nicias.

Indeed, the meager sums recorded in this record issued by the epistatai (IG I^3 391) suggest, according to Körte, the occasion for the First-fruits decree. IG I^3 78 thus represents an attempt by the Athenian state to help the Eleusinian sanctuary. Körte's view might also explain why IG I^3 78 does not call for the transfer of any money from the hieropoioi to the epistatai: that is, IG I^3 391

could represent a previous state of affairs in which no dedications were offered and the money from the aparche, less the cost of the sacrifices, was simply turned over to the epistatai; and so, IG I^3 78 would then represent a new start, a procedure aimed at ensuring a much larger aparche whose proceeds after sacrifices would be used entirely for dedications. Körte, however, did not allow for the possibility that the small sums in IG I^3 391 are what is left over after the cost of dedications, and that this transfer was ordered in a decree or law passed between IG I^3 78 and 391; nor did he allow for the possibility that the custom of making dedications may have been suspended at the beginning of the Archidamian War; nor for the probability that, at least in some years, an aparche was probably not even collected (see below, p. 76), and that therefore IG I^3 391 is merely a reflection of the results of the war: a reduced aparche, used mainly for sacrifices, with no dedications. More seriously, Körte did not address the question why the epistatai have such a prominent role in IG I^3 391 but are not mentioned at all in IG I^3 78. This will be discussed further below.

We must also question Körte's comparison of fifth and fourth century aparchai and grain figures. According to IG II^2 1672, Körte noted, the fourth century (329/8) aparche totaled 1152 medimnoi of barley and approximately 120 medimnoi of wheat. After some was set aside for various purposes, the rest was sold at three drachmas per medimnos of barley and six drachmas per medimnos of wheat. From the proceeds of this sale, viz. approximately 4100 drachmas, the animals required for sacrifice were purchased. But these figures do not represent the same total as those in IG I^3 391. No totals of the year's aparche are recorded there, only the sums of money turned over by the hieropoioi to the epistatai. (Some possible explanations for these figures have been noted above.) Therefore, Körte's assumption that the total aparche for those years equalled the amount necessary to purchase the required animals plus the sums recorded in IG I^3 391 is not secure. If IG I^3 391 does not offer evidence from which we can calculate the total aparche received during the years 422/1 - 419/8 we cannot use it, as such, as evidence for a date for IG I^3 78.

Körte concluded with an argument linking the First-fruits decree specifically to 419/8. Not only would this date be appropriate for its panhellenic character, which Körte associated with Alcibiades, but the decree would also reflect Athens' efforts in this period to isolate Sparta through a coalition with Argos, Mantinea and Elis. Sparta's undesirable position at this time in regard to her allies (Thuc. 5.57) is cited as proof of the effectiveness of the First-fruits decree. Lampon's pre-eminence in the spring of the peace of Nicias as well as the completion of the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis are noted as additional support for a date in this period.

Because Lampon's career stretches from his role in colonizing Thurii in 444 to the signing of the peace of Nicias in 421 and finally to 414, it is not advisable, without some further basis, to link IG I^3 78 too closely to any one of

these dates. Given, moreover, the importance of the Asklepieion, one can hardly assume that, even if the sanctuary was established by a private citizen, such an undertaking was done without the knowledge or consent of the Athenian state. But this is what we must conclude if we interpret, with Körte, the provision in Lampon's rider concerning the Pelargikon as a reaction to the establishment of the Asklepieion.

Out of Körte's arguments what we are left with, then, are some not so precise epigraphical comparisons which might or might not suggest a later date, a too simple interpretation of the relationship of IG I^3 391 and IG I^3 78 and some rather imprecise speculations on the relationship of the First-fruits decree to Alcibiades' efforts at panhellenism as seen in the politics following the peace of Nicias in 421—speculations just as imprecise as any efforts to date this decree to the period of Pericles' Panhellenic Congress on the basis of the decree's panhellenic character.

Nos. 12–16

In the same year as Körte's attempt to dislodge the First-fruits decree from the 440s, Sauppe (**no. 12**) returned to the more prevalent view: if the four-barred sigma precluded a date before 446 while the forms of the letters kappa and nu belong not long after, the decree should then be placed near that date. Specifically, Sauppe linked the decree with Pericles' efforts to induce the Greeks to act together through his invitation for a Panhellenic Congress, efforts frustrated by Sparta's refusal. Both the decree and the Panhellenic Congress are then dated by Sauppe to the end of the Five Years Peace between Sparta and Athens, although he offered no additional reasons for connecting the decree with the 440s, in particular with 446 or 444.

In his commentary on the First-fruits decree in the *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, Ziehen (**no. 13**) presented in detail the evidence in support of his date of 423. He later reiterated these same arguments in an article (**no. 15**) that appeared in 1899. Citing IG I^3 78.40–44 (τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀποδομένους τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναθήματα ἀνατιθέναι τοῖν θεοῖν), he noted Körte's failure to understand that dedications are to be made from the surplus remaining after the sacrifices are offered and concluded: "unde paululum pecuniae remansisse quod hieropoiei epistatis traderent par et consentaneum est."

While correct in objecting to Körte's interpretation of IG I^3 391, Ziehen likewise erred in his explanation. Lines 40-44 of IG I^3 78 do specify the use of the money accruing from the aparche not needed for the πέλανος and for the purchase of the required animals, but no mention is made of any surplus which might remain from that money: it is simply to be used for dedications to Demeter and Kore. Nor is any mention made of any transfer of funds by the hieropoioi to the epistatai. Thus Ziehen was likewise unaware of the importance

of the administrative change signalled by the appearance of the epistatai. Clearly, if IG I^3 78 belongs before IG I^3 391, some change has occurred between IG I^3 78 and 391 which is responsible not only for the existence of surplus moneys from the aparche but also for the transferal of these funds from the hieropoioi to the epistatai. If, on the other hand, IG I^3 78 belongs after 391, then the absence of the epistatai, who are so prominent in 391, needs to be explained.

Since the Archidamian war prevented offering of the first-fruits from 431 to 425, Ziehen argued that IG I^3 391 provides evidence for their consecration during the years 422–418. Moreover, since IG I^3 391 seems to be dependent on such a decree as this First-Fruits decree, Ziehen proposed a date of 423, the year preceding the first record of any revenue from the offering of the first-fruits: "iam cum illius fere aetatis habeamus decretum quo consecrationem κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν sanciri videmus, num id quattuor demum annis postquam denuo fieri coeperat, latum esse credamus?"

In addition to this seemingly logical—although not indisputable—argument, Ziehen cited the appropriateness of the truce made in 423 between Athens and Sparta for the First-fruits decree, which seems to require a period of peace given its terms. The disturbed state of the Athenian calendar noted in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (615 ff.) would offer an additional explanation for the intercalation of a second Hekatombaion. The validity of Ziehen's arguments advanced against Körte's attempt to use IG I^3 391 as a *terminus post quem* is evident, although the suitability of the so-called truce of 423 and the advisability of any attempt to connect Lampon's call for the intercalation of an additional month with any specific calendrical problems will be questioned below.

Indeed, the use of IG I^3 391 as a *terminus ante quem* seems straightforward. It is important, however, to keep in mind that, whatever the sums recorded in IG I^3 391 represent (conceivably the money from the aparche less what was needed for the πέλανος and animal sacrifices), the transfer of money from the hieropoioi to the epistatai is another matter altogether: it indicates a change in the administration of the aparche from that shown in IG I^3 78. (See discussion below, pp. 73–79.)

While Ziehen dismissed Sauppe's association of the First-fruits decree specifically with Pericles and the Panhellenic Congress described by Plutarch (*Pericles* 17), he underscored the Panhellenic spirit common to both. He maintained in his 1899 article (**no. 15**) that Athens' repeated attempts to make the aparche truly panhellenic failed despite Isocrates' statement to the contrary (αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι, *Panegyr.* 31). Clinton has now offered strong arguments in support of Isocrates' contention that indeed "'many' Greek cities sent donations of first-fruits around

the year 380."[4]

Busolt (**no. 14**) placed the decree after 445 because of its epigraphical characteristics (four-barred sigma) but before 431 because of Lampon's amendment concerning the Pelargikon. He cited Thucydides (2.17) as a *terminus ante quem* for the effort to define and protect that area. In his own review of the dates previously proposed, Busolt ruled out Lipsius' date (**no. 3**) and his attempt to correlate the Attic and Delphic calendars. He interpreted the intercalation of an additional month as common and considered the fact that the month intercalated was Hekatombaion instead of Posideon of no real concern. He proposed four possible dates: 444, 441, 439 and 436, of which he ruled out all but the second. He considered 436 unsuitable because of the general deportment of the Pythia, while 439 was untenable because the Samian war was still in progress or just ending. Although 445/4 was possible, Busolt argued that the famine and bad harvest suffered by the Athenians, as well as Lampon's departure for Thurii, made 441 preferable, and to that year Busolt dated the decree.

Prott (**no. 16**) offered additional arguments against Körte's date in his 1899 article, starting from the observation that the choice animals used in sacrifices were extremely expensive. He reasoned that the costs recorded in IG II^2 1672 for 329/8 were probably not very different from what they would have been in the fifth century. Assuming that the expenses of 1500 drachmas for sacrificial animals were the same, as well as the price and amount of grain sold to pay these expenses (roughly 420,000 medimnoi), he interpreted these same figures rather differently than Körte: namely, that they represented a considerable harvest and income for the fifth century. Prott then assigned the First-fruits inscription, since it was through it that the aparche was established, to the year before the peace of Nicias.

Prott's assumption that the cost of these sacrificial animals remained unchanged is not borne out by the evidence. In IG II^2 1673.62 (probably 333/2), a ewe is purchased for μύησις of the slaves working in the sanctuary at the cost of twelve drachmas, while only four years later, in IG II^2 1672.289 (329/8), a

[4] K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy, Proceedings of an International Conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992* (Oxford 1994) 161.

sheep for the same purpose costs two and one-half times that, thirty drachmas.[5] It does not seem advisable, therefore, to make estimates of the cost of sacrificial animals without some contemporary evidence.

Prott also objected to Körte's causal connection of Lampon's rider and the establishment of the Asklepieion for the reason I offered above: namely, that such a connection implies that the building of the Asklepieion was unauthorized and somehow prompted the rider. But the idea that the Asklepieion could be established without the consent of the Athenian demos is unthinkable. (That such a provision should be attached to an Eleusinian decree merely because of the close connection of Asklepios with Demeter and Kore and the Mysteries, problematic (rätselhaft) even for Körte, was untenable for Prott.)

Pringsheim (**no. 17**) supported a date of 423 and agreed with Ziehen's (**no. 12**) arguments that most of the grain received as first-fruits was sold (after a part was reserved for the πέλανος sacrifice), with the proceeds being used to purchase the animals necessary for sacrifices and dedications. He concluded that IG I^3 391 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the decree.

Wilhelm (no. 18) and Walbank (no. 58)

In 1903 Adolf Wilhelm (**no. 18**) published, with photograph, a comparison of the Acropolis fragment of the First-fruits decree found in the Plaka in 1891 together with the Eleusinian copy. Wilhelm's article, of critical importance in the general development of the attempts made to date the First-fruits inscription, has often been used only selectively. Misconceptions of the epigraphical requirements for dating the decree have resulted and been perpetuated. I will, therefore, review the contents of Wilhelm's article at much greater length than might otherwise be called for, in an attempt to set the record straight.

Lampon's amendment (IG I^3 78.48–61) clearly calls for the inscription and erection of two copies of the preceding First-fruits decree. While the Acropolis fragment (IG I^3 78b) preserves considerably less (it measures 0.10 m high, 0.125 m wide and 0.10 m thick with a stoichos measuring 0.0094 x 0.0133 m) of the decree than its Eleusinian counterpart, it is clearly a copy of the same text and thus can be restored on the basis of the Eleusinian stone. There is no doubt, then, of the identification of the two stones.

The lettering is of the same size, spacing and overall appearance, both have the exact same number of spaces per line and the overall size of the two

[5] K. Clinton, "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries," in *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986 (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen,* 4°, 38 Stockholm 1988) 69. See also Clinton, *Inscriptions* 101.

stones corresponds. After citing other examples to show that one order of specific requirements would govern the inscription of *both* copies, Wilhelm concluded: "Ich zweifle nun nicht, daß die beiden Stelen des eleusinischen Psephisma tatsächlich derselben Werkstätte, vermutlich sogar derselben Hand zuzuteilen sind." Wilhelm's conviction that both stones are the products of the same workshop or even the same mason is important to keep in mind before considering the discrepancies which exist between the two texts. "Darf also mit allem Grunde vermutet werden, daß beide Aufzeichnungen das Werk desselben Steinmetzen sind, so überrascht es umsomehr, sie keineswegs in allen Einzelheiten in Übereinstimmung zu finden."

A comparison of several lines from each shows that the two texts do not follow one another exactly; specifically, only in the second, third and fourth lines do the same letters fall in the same stoichoi in both texts. Restoration of the Acropolis fragment on the basis of the Eleusinian copy yields different numbers of letters per line on several occasions. The Eleusinian text is not free of deviations in its stoichedon order: two letters occupy the same stoichos twice and a *vacat* appears elsewhere for no reason. And these are not the only differences between the two texts.

Variation also appears in the wording and orthography of the two texts. For instance, the aspirate is required for the article (ὁ καρπός) in the first line of the Acropolis fragment. Wilhelm explained the difference in the number of spaces in the fifth line between the two copies by the substitution of hóθεν ἄν for hοπόθεν ἄν. In the following line the newer shorter form of the dative (χιλίαις δραχμαῖς) is substituted for the longer older form (χιλίαισιν δραχμέσι). Likewise, the Acropolis fragment shows the newer form of the imperative (εὐθυνέσθων) while the Eleusinian text preserves the older (εὐθυνόσθων). Wilhelm concluded "wieder einmal stellt sich heraus, wie wenig den Alten selbst bei amtlichen Abschriften an jener peinlich genauen Übereinstimmung im unwesentlichen gelegen war, die moderne Kritiker, namentlich ein großer Epigraphiker, vorauszusetzen geneigt waren." Wilhelm's admonition should cause us to hesitate before applying modern standards foreign to the practice of the ancient world.

In dating the decree itself, Wilhelm commented that the fragment from the Acropolis exhibited the magnificent letter forms of the second half of the fifth century. Of the dates proposed from 439 to 418, he ruled out none on the basis of letter forms. I quote his conclusion in full. "Unter den Schriftdenkmälern, die sich zum Vergleiche bieten, zeigt, nachstehend abgebildet, CIA I 260 aus dem Jahre 420 v. Chr. die größte Ähnlichkeit; freilich findet sich verwandte Schrift bereits auf älteren Steinen wie CIA I 32 (Sylloge^2 21); CIA I 179 (Sylloge^2 26) aus dem Jahre 433/2 v. Chr." While Wilhelm observed that the greatest similarity was to an inscription dated to 420, he also emphasized similarities with earlier ones, specifically the records of the

Corcyrean expedition (IG I^3 364), dated to 433/2, and the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52). Unfortunately several scholars after Wilhelm have interpreted his judgment as requiring a date around or after 420, a conclusion that is not at all supported by what he actually said.

This rather extended discussion has demonstrated that arguments based on the characteristics of one of these two texts—in particular, the prevalence of newer forms of the dative or imperative in the fragment from the Acropolis—are of little value. Since both texts were probably cut in the same workshop or by the same stone mason, attempts to set hard and fast rules for the time limits within which these various forms can occur are clearly ill-conceived. Confirmation of the freedom exercised by Athenian stonemasons has also been noted by R. P. Austin (**no. 33**).

With Wilhelm's comments on the variations found in the two texts of the same decree in mind (viz. the use of the longer and shorter forms of the dative plurals, the older and newer forms of the imperative as well as the omission of the aspirate), it will be convenient to present here (out of chronological order) yet another view against the use of these linguistic phenomena for absolute dating. I stress again the danger of basing claims on the presence of *either* the older *or* newer forms since they *both* occur in the two texts we possess.

Walbank (**no. 58**), in an article entitled "Criteria for the Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions," denied the usefulness of orthographic criteria for anything other than establishing *termini post* or *ante quem non*. He supported this with the following statement.

> H. T. Wade-Gery (*JHS* 51 [1931] 78-83) catalogued the variant forms of the first declension dative plurals (-ασι, -αισι, -εσι and -αις), concluding that the older disyllabic forms tended to go out of use in the 420's. H. B. Mattingly (*Ehrenberg Studies* [1966] 196-203) made a similar catalogue of the variant forms of the present, middle and passive imperative (-οσθω, -οσθων, and -εσθω, -εσθων) and of the prefixes χσυν-, and συν-. His conclusion was that here too the 420's were a period of transition during which the newer forms began to intrude alongside the old, and that the older forms went out of use *ca.* 420 B.C. While both Wade-Gery's and Mattingly's catalogues provide some support for the view that the older forms died out after 420 B.C., I do not think they are of much use in establishing a *terminus ante quem non* for the newer forms. The use, or non-use, of the *daseia* has been suggested as another criterion for dating; however, although there seems to be a period in the 450's and the 440's in which it was frequently omitted, there is no discernible pattern of gradually increasing use or disuse.

Recently Threatte noted that "after 450 B.C. occasional omission of H=[h] is certainly not unusual in state decrees."[6] Thus the omission of the aspirate cannot be taken as supporting a late date.

Clearly, then, Wilhelm's demonstration that documents similar in critical respects to the First-fruits decree may be found in both the 430s and the 420s pointed up the tenuousness of arguments based on so-called epigraphical criteria and constituted an important advance in the study of the decree's date.

Cavaignac (no. 19)

Cavaignac (**no. 19**) saw the First-fruits decree's invitation to all Greeks to join in offering first-fruits as part of the Athenian effort to encourage the growth of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. The advantage of Cavaignac's approach lies in his attempt to fit the decree into the financial history of Eleusis rather than simply searching to find an occasion suitable to only one aspect, such as Lampon's amendment. Against Körte's insistence that the decree followed upon a period of failure to offer first-fruits, Cavaignac asserted that this was to give too much emphasis to κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, used formulaically here because of the religious nature of the document. He emphasized the important financial implications, which must have been considerable, of a decree instituting the offering of the first-fruits by the Athenians and their allies on a regular basis. Basing his figures on the fourth century records, Cavaignac estimated that the yearly aparche following this decree would have been roughly ten talents per year.

From the provision for the use of the proceeds (in excess of what was needed for sacrifice) for dedications, it may be concluded that this decree was intended for long-term validity. Even so, Cavaignac supposed that the administrators would have been free to appropriate these funds as they were needed for any construction underway. "Le décret ... d'abord, puis à la consécration d'anathèmata: c'était là l'emploi ordinaire, normal, qu'avait seul à prévoir un règlement qui prétendait être valable désormais pour toujours. Mais, dans une période où l'on avait à bâtir dans le sanctuaire, rien n'empêchait les administrateurs de la fortune sacrée de réserver des fonds pour les constructions, considérées comme les plus dispendieux et les plus nécessaires des anathèmata." Thus Cavaignac explained the provision that the hieropoioi are to make these dedications ποιεσαμένος ηαττ' ἂν τôι δέμοι τôι 'Αθεναίον δοκêι (lines 42-43) as a formula by which the Athenians maintained

[6] Threatte 494. He suggested the following explanation: "The sporadic omission of H=[h] in texts in Attic script probably indicates that the [h] in Attic was only gently sounded; later orthographic practice does not support the view that Attic became psilotic so early. The increase in the number of cases of omitted H=[h] after 450 and the appearance of a few texts in Attic script which avoid it altogether might be in part due to increasing familiarity with the Ionic system."

ultimate control over the use of these funds. Cavaignac's failure to offer any evidence that buildings were actually considered ἀναθέματα is a serious difficulty for his argument.

Cavaignac suggested that IG I^3 385 might offer some help in providing a date for the decree. It is a fragment of an inventory-account of the epistatai without precise date but clearly older than the inventory-accounts of 408/7 (IG I^3 386-387). This particular fragment is significant because it records ninety talents and fourteen hundred drachmai in coined silver. If this fragment is to be dated sometime around the peace of Nicias (as the editor of IG I^2 reminds us: "propter magnam pecuniae vim (plus XC talentis) bello Deceleio antiquius et Niciae paci proximum esse fragmentum censet Sa(rdemann)"), Cavaignac reasonably questioned whether such an amount could have been amassed between 423 and the date of this fragment a few years later.

Calculating only the approximate harvest likely in the fifth century, Cavaignac reckoned that the first-fruits collected as a result of the decree would have easily yielded 10 talents *per annum* for the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. To amass the ninety some talents recorded in IG I^3 385 would then require a date at least nine years earlier for the First-fruits decree. Cavaignac, therefore, concluded that the First-fruits decree must be placed sometime after the middle of the fifth century (when, on the basis of his fragment 288a (I^3 395) he concluded that the sanctuary required Athenian aid in order to enlarge its temenos walls) and IG I^3 385 some thirty years later. Given that a date before 431 is necessary and his assumption that the state of building at Eleusis in 431 was not far advanced at this time, he proposed a date between the end of the Samian war (439) and the beginning of the Pelponnesian war, i.e., around 435.

Cavaignac supported this date by pointing out that the absence of the archon's name is more natural in a decree before 431 than one from 423 or even later. He noted similarity in letter forms with IG I^3 364, dated to 433/2. In the measure to protect the Pelargikon proposed by Lampon he saw too a reference to the great works on the Acropolis, the Propylaia, the temple of Athena Nike, all of which resulted in the cutting of the Pelargikon stone. Lampon's amendment could then be seen as a public declaration that the old religious sanctuaries and customs were not to be altered.

While Cavaignac's arguments based on the state of building at the sanctuary of Eleusis are somewhat speculative, his attempt to relate the First-fruits decree to IG I^3 385, an undated fragment which, as is generally agreed, should be dated around 420, is significant. One major difficulty exists, however, for Cavaignac's argument. The ninety-plus talents which appear in IG I^3 385 are described as ἀργυρίου ἐπισέμ[ου], not as ἀπαρχέ.

Although Cavaignac's arguments, in the end, are not sufficient, his method at least seems sound: to attempt to find the right place for the document within the context of the history of Eleusinian finances in the fifth century.

Tanner (no. 20)

Tanner (**no. 20**) in 1916, starting from a consideration of the Δραπέτιδες of Cratinus, which he believed to be directed against Lampon in his role as mover of the amendment of IG I^3 78, argued that the fragments of this lost play could be used to date IG I^3 78, which, in turn, could also be used to date the play. The general time frame into which Tanner fit I^3 78 was 446–432, using the following reasoning. Since the decree shows deference to all Greek states which were *not* members of the confederacy, it must be dated after 446, i.e., after the failure of the Panhellenic Congress. The decree, too, must have preceded the performance of the Δραπέτιδες, which, given its treatment of Pericles, must have occurred prior to the latter's death in 429. (Tanner automatically excluded all dates during the Peloponnesian War.) Tanner further argued that the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν referred to a recent Delphic oracle, and that this further ruled out any date after 434/3 when Delphi assumed a pro-Spartan stance. After systematically reviewing Körte's arguments for a late date (i.e., 418) and compiling a chart comparing Attic decrees dated from 446–411, Tanner argued that I^3 78 has the least number of omissions of the aspirate. The appearance of dative plurals of o-stems in -οις while a-stems occur in the Ionic form also fit the decree, he thought, squarely among Attic inscriptions dated between 444–420.

The small sums from the aparchai recorded in IG I^3 391, which when contrasted with that total listed in IG I^3 386-387 had prompted Körte to reject any date before 421 as unthinkable for I^3 78, are, according to Tanner, simply the result of the war, or, perhaps higher grain and cattle prices, also perhaps occasioned by the war. Tanner noted the absence of the epistatai from the decree while calling attention to the fact that in 329/8 the epistatai turn over to the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς the amount of the aparchai after they deduct the costs necessary for sacrifice.

Körte's assumption that Lampon's amendment concerning the Pelargikon was related to the Asklepieion was rejected by Tanner because that sanctuary did not include any area of the Pelargikon. The intercalation of a second Hekatombaion in the amendment then provided Tanner five possible intercalary years (446, 443, 440, 438, 435) from which to choose a date for IG I^3 78. He excluded 435 because of the improbability of an oracle from Delphi; 440 and 438 are likewise rejected because of the law forbidding censure of prominent people in comedy (Schol.*Ach.*65).

Although Tanner thought that the form of the letter nu was suggestive of an earlier date (i.e., 446), he ultimately rejected 446 as improbable for the launching of a panhellenic project so soon after Athens' defeat at Coronea. The conclusion of the thirty years peace in 445 (which probably contained a provision allowing access to Delphi) as well as the crop failures which Athens experienced in 445/4 and 444/3 combined to convince Tanner of the suitability

of 443. The Δραπέτιδες would follow in 442—a time perfectly suited to a play which "refers to the struggle for the supremacy of Athens, which took place at that time between Pericles and his political opponents" [i.e., the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melisias].

Tanner's analysis is noteworthy for the evidence he offered against Körte's epigraphical arguments, and his notice, albeit cursory, of the different boards of officials named in the documents. His use of the date of production of the Δραπέτιδες as the basis by which he arrives at 443 is, at best, open to question and, at worst, circular.

Nos. 21–25, 31

The third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* (**no. 21**) supported Ziehen in his date of 423 but gave a misleading summary of Wilhelm's position. "Litterarum genus id esse, quod circa tempora pacis Niciae (a. 421) usitatum erat, testatur Wilhelm ... Körte ex rationibus Eleusiniis a. 422/1-419/8 ... in quibus perexiguus pecuniarum numerus ex primitiis redactarum recensetur, conclusit consecrationem primitiarum tam exiguam fuisse, ut illis annis legem supra positam fuisse negaret, immo proximis post Niciae pacem temporibus rogatam esse indicaret. Contra Ziehen probabiliter statuit rationes a. 422/1-419/8 ex hac ipsa lege factas esse, ut tribuenda sit lex anno 423/2."

Although offering no definite date, Keulen (**no. 22**), in an article entitled "De Pericle Pacificatore," maintained that the decree was moved by none other than Pericles. He saw this *psephisma* as a non-violent attempt by Pericles to assert Athens' hegemony. In recognizing Eleusis as the source of agriculture and civilization, and Athens as the home of Eleusis, Athens could truly be said to be παίδευσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Clearly, attempts to fit the First-fruits decree into the panhellenic policy of Pericles (attested by the passage in Plutarch (17) mentioning the Panhellenic Congress) continued, undaunted by the lack of a firm date for the Congress decree.

In 1922, Wilhelm (**no. 23**) compared the letter forms of the First-fruits decree to those found in IG I^3 285 (dated 421/0), as he had in his earlier article on IG I^3 78b (**no. 16**). The effect of this was to establish the belief that epigraphically the First-fruits decree could only be dated to some time around the peace of Nicias, although nowhere did Wilhelm abandon his earlier comparison to IG I^3 364 (dated 433/2).

In 1927, Körte (**no. 24**) wrote an appendix to Noack's work on Eleusis, in which he dealt only with the dating of IG I^3 78b as a response to the criticism of his argument for the 418 date that he proposed in 1896. Körte did not retract his earlier argument; he countered Ziehen's proposed date of 423 with the

contention that it was a politically inappropriate date for IG I^3 78. The armistice of 423 would have bitterly disappointed any hopes put in it, according to Körte. Two days after its conclusion, Skione revolted with Brasidas' support; Mende followed Skione's example a short time later (Thuc. 4.120-24). Although Athens regained both Skione and Mende, Thebes razed the walls of the Thespians while Mantinea and Tegea fought. Despite the armistice of 423, Körte concluded that peace did not exist in the Greek world. He also questioned the appropriateness of attributing such a panhellenic effort to 422 when Cleon, after reelection as strategos, continued his efforts to rouse Athens to war.

Körte, however, failed to answer the difficulties raised by Ziehen's objection to his interpretation of IG I^3 391 and the more serious difficulties which I have mentioned above (pp. 43-44). Nevertheless the question, raised by Körte, of the appropriateness of IG I^3 78 to a period of war is important. A general call to all Greeks to dedicate offerings of first-fruits to Demeter and Kore is hardly conceivable during the Archidamian war. According to Körte, this means a date before the war or during the peace of Nicias.

Körte preferred a date after the peace of Nicias, buttressing his claim with epigraphical arguments. The eightfold omission of the aspirate, the newer form of the dative as well as the new form of the imperative all find better parallels, he claimed, in decrees dating from 421 and later. While Körte did at least recognize that the two copies of the text, the fragment from the Acropolis copy and the Eleusinian one, differ in the forms used, he asserted that the hybrid form of the older dative (χιλίαισι) in the Eleusinian text alone proved that the older forms were not in common use at the time. But in view of Walbank's assessment of the usefulness of these criteria for dating (p. 49), Körte's argument is unconvincing. Therefore, his association of the First-fruits decree with Alcibiades, whose advice to the Athenians to regard all arable land as their own is noted by Plutarch (15.4),[7] must be regarded not only as pure conjecture but contradicted by his own admission of the decree's requirement of peace.

Bannier (**no. 25**) attempted to distinguish different sources of income and aparchai in the various Eleusinian documents of this period, an effort not supported by the sources themselves. He did, however, point out something of interest for the debate concerning the relationship of IG I^3 391 and IG I^3 78. "Was für Beträge aber darunter [i.e., IG I^3 391] zu verstehen sind, ob wirklich

[7] "Οὕτω δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκπεσόντων, στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἠλείους συμμάχους ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.... μέγα δ' ἦν τὸ πεπραγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, διαστῆσαι καὶ κραδᾶναι Πελοπόννησον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν, καὶ τοσαύτας ἀσπίδας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀντιτάξαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, <418>" (Plutarch, 15.1).

aus dem Verkauf von dem Aparchegetreide stammend, weiß ich nicht, weil, wie wir eben erwähnt haben, von der Ablieferung eines eventuellen letzten Überschußes in der Inschrift nicht gehandelt wird." That no specific instructions are given in IG I^3 78 for the disposal of any surplus from the sale and use of the first-fruits, other than for dedications, is noteworthy because the other epigraphic evidence remaining for the fifth century (IG I^3 391, 386-387) implies the existence of such a surplus. This discrepancy will be discussed below. It does not, however, rule out the arguments (discussed above, pp. 42-44) based on the relationship of IG I^3 391 and IG I^3 78.

On the basis of epigraphical arguments, Tod (**no. 31**) followed Körte in dating the decree to 418, "though not without some misgiving." Convinced primarily by Wilhelm's arguments on the similarity between IG I^3 78 and another inscription of 420, Tod pointed out the difficulty of dating the forms of the dative plurals of the first declension to a date much later than 420. This seems to be the first admission that the older forms found in the text might offer their own epigraphical requirements. Nevertheless, Tod uneasily accepted the later date, and ignored Wilhelm's comparison of IG I^3 78 with documents dated in the 430s.

Nos. 26–30, 34: The Calendar

In 1929, Geerlings (**no. 26**) tried to correct the date proposed by Körte through a calculation of which years following the peace of Nicias were ordinary and which were intercalary. This is the first in a series of arguments which assumes the essential correctness of Körte's date and endeavors only to ascertain the precise date for the First–fruits decree on the basis of calendar arguments for the years after 421, despite the valid objections raised to Körte's argument by others. (Additional reasons which compel the rejection of any date after the record IG I^3 391 (422-419) will be given below.)

The authors of these articles all assumed Körte's correctness in dating the decree after IG I^3 391 and differed only in adjusting the date of the First-Fruits decree anywhere between 421 and 415, according to their views of the calendar. Each of the scholars using calendrical arguments maintained the unique suitability of his proposed date for the First-Fruits decree, while showing no hesitation in changing one date for another suitable date as the evidence for ordinary vs. intercalary years changed.

Geerlings suggested that Körte's tentative date (419/8) was impossible because 418/7 was an ordinary year. Since Lampon's rider calls for the intercalation of an additional month by the archon coming into office, we should assume that the following year was intercalary. (It has been suggested that the intercalation proposed by Lampon was never carried out, but there seems to be no justification for such a view.) While ascertaining a year in which a second

Hekatombaion was intercalated might seem the surest way to arrive at a fixed date for IG I^3 78, the actual dangers inherent in this approach will become obvious as we consider the various attempts.

Geerlings' argument leading to his change in Körte's suggested date is as follows: Assuming that Meritt's conclusion that 421/0 and 420/19 are ordinary and his table in *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century* is correct, Geerlings concluded that *either* 419/8 *or* 418/7 was ordinary. If 416/5, in Geerlings' view, is regarded as intercalary in compensation, Meritt's calendar can still be regarded as correct.

In order to establish which of these two years, 419/8 and 418/7, is ordinary, Geerlings presented two tables giving the alternatives. By comparing these, Geerlings concluded that if 418/7 is considered intercalary, Hekatombaion 1 would fall too far in advance of the summer solstice. Hence he judged 418/7 the ordinary year. This excludes Körte's date for IG I^3 78 for calendrical reasons. Because it is unlikely that three ordinary years would occur in succession and because 421/0 and 420/19 are known to be ordinary, he concluded that 419/8 was intercalary, and consequently assigned the First-fruits decree to 420/19.

The tenuousness of such arguments becomes immediately apparent upon consideration of Geerlings' emendation of his view in the following year (**no. 27**). Again noting that IG I^3 78 must have been passed in the year preceding an intercalary year, in which Hekatombaion was the intercalated month instead of the more usual Metageitnion, Geerlings retracted his suggestion of 420/19. This was due to Meritt's demonstration that Antiphon's speech περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ must have been delivered in 419/8, the only year satisfying all of its calendar requirements. Assuming the correctness of this conclusion, we learn from the calendar equations possible that a second Metageitnion was intercalated in 419/8. Therefore, assuming that the provisions for intercalation were carried out as Lampon specified in IG I^3 78, the decree cannot be dated to 420/19. The only possible dates after the peace of Nicias, therefore, are 418/7, 417/6, or 415/4, since internal evidence rules out a date after the beginning of the Sicilian war. Assuming that Meritt's arguments concerning the date of Antiphon's speech are plausible, the actual year, 420/19, can still be regarded as uncertain because it is dependent upon Meritt's determination of it being intercalary within his whole calendar system, with Metageitnion the intercalated month. Geerling's revised conclusions then should be viewed with some caution, except for his exclusion of a date after the outbreak of the war in Sicily, a period unsuitable to the tenor of the First-fruits decree itself.

Unaware of the new evidence offered by Geerlings, Haggard (**no. 28**) supported his original date of 420 on the basis of Körte's evidence that the lettering and orthography of the decree required a date after the peace of Nicias

and on the basis of Körte's "rebuttal" of Ziehen's date (423), because of its unsuitability due to the military and political situation.

Dinsmoor (**no. 29**), commenting on IG I^3 78 in *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, continued along the same lines as Geerlings. Citing both articles by Wilhelm discussed above, he ignored much of Wilhelm's earlier discussion and concluded that "according to those who have most carefully examined the stones, the lettering of the Athenian copy, at any rate, seems to be of about the time of the Peace." He further cited Körte's view in favor of this later date "which is now generally accepted." With this Dinsmoor rejected any date before the Peloponnesian War as precluded by the letter forms. Ziehen's date of 423/2 was dispatched with equal ease since it didn't fit the panhellenic plan required by the decree. No attempt was made to refute Ziehen's basic objection to Körte's dating.

Having dismissed all dates prior to the peace of Nicias, Dinsmoor focused on selecting the precise date after 421, now possible because of Meritt's work on the Athenian calendar. In addition to the fact that the decree is from a year preceding an intercalary year, with Hekatombaion the month intercalated, the text itself tells us only that Kekropis held the prytany for which Timoteles was secretary. Lampon's proposal concerning the action to be taken in the ninth prytany on the first-fruits from olive oil, as well as the haste implied for the implementation of the decree in general, suggest the seventh or eighth prytany as the most probable time of year. With these two facts and one reasonable inference, Dinsmoor eliminated the following dates: 424/3, since Meritt had shown the Erechtheis held the seventh while Akamantis the eighth prytany; 423/2 as improbable with Aiantis holding the eighth prytany; 415/4 since Kekropis held the fourth prytany; and finally, 414/3 as unlikely with the seventh prytany held by Erechtheis.

Dinsmoor then argued that if a new fragment of IG I^3 370 is placed slightly lower on the stone, it would offer evidence for the tribe of Kekropis as the eighth prytanizing tribe for 416/5, and to this date he then assigned IG I^3 78. The political situation accorded perfectly in Dinsmoor's view since Athens was at the height of prosperity after six years of comparative peace; Lampon was also once again receiving much public notice, first as one of the signers of the peace of Nicias and also because of the ridicule levelled at him by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* and the *Birds*. Meiggs and Lewis, however, pointed out (**no. 55**) that Dinsmoor's restorations of IG I^3 370, lines 47, 49 are "by no means certain."

Dinsmoor's date of 416/5 received immediate support from Meritt (**no. 30**), who commented on his "strong arguments," which had their basis in Meritt's own calendar work. Meritt pointed out that with Dinsmoor's date we might also conclude that the month intercalated in 415/4 was Hekatombaion.

Moreover, Lampon's provision concerning the Pelargikon could be used to support the 416/5 date. For "as the great expedition was preparing to set forth to Sicily in the spring of 415, they (the Athenians) thought to protect themselves against a similar pestilence by taking proper precautions in their care of the Pelargikon." Thus, Meritt saw Lampon's provision as an effort to correct the condition prevailing in the Pelargikon now for some fifteen years and noted by Thucydides (2.17) with reference to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

This would not be the place for a complete review of the Athenian calendar of this period, a task that would require a separate monograph. In any case it is unnecessary to examine the validity of each of the calendar arguments for the various years from 420 to 416/5, because the arguments, made by Körte, in favor of this entire period are weak, as I have pointed out, and no one has offered more convincing arguments to take their place.

It is pertinent, however, to consider in general, at this point, how secure our knowledge of the calendar is, especially for the fifth century, and, consequently, how secure are judgments made on the basis of that knowledge.

The greatest single problem in working on the Athenian calendar in the fifth century is the paucity of the evidence. According to Pritchett and Neugebauer, "there are fewer than half a dozen calendar equations for which there is ancient authority without involving restorations in the period before 407 B.C."[8] This raises another obstacle—the use of restored calendar equations as the basis for firm dates. While some restorations, especially those made from formulae or where the possible restorations are few, can be incorporated into a text or argument with little doubt, others cannot, a factor all too easily ignored once an equation is incorporated into a calendar argument or table.

IG I^3 369, the accounts of the *logistai* which record the loans made by the sanctuaries of the Other Gods to the Athenian state over a four year period (426/5-423/2), is the chief source of our information. The *logistai* inscription also includes a summary of an eleven year period, including the seven years (433-426) preceding those with which the main body of the record is concerned. Calendar arguments dating anything earlier than 433, which is also the supposed date for the introduction of the Metonic cycle at Athens, are rare. As a result, there has been an undue effort to place documents after this date in order to make use of the calendar evidence we do possess.

Even Meritt, who subscribed most completely to the importance of the Metonic cycle to the actual calendar of the Athenians, has admitted that "it is highly probable that in actual practice the intercalation of extra months, before Meton's epochal date as well as after, depended on circumstances largely

[8] W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge 1947) 14.

religious and political, over which the astronomer had no control."[9] Thus, when there is agreement that no regular system of intercalation existed, at least none of which we are aware, it becomes pointless to speak, for example, of the likelihood of three successive years being ordinary or intercalary. While such a statement is a matter of probability and, as such, has meaning for studies of the calendar *per se*, it is of little value for dating other documents.

Calendar equations not dependent on tentative restoration alone are of use for dating. I would, therefore, restrict the use of arguments based on the calendar for the dating of IG I^3 78 to a negative role. In the case of the First-fruits decree, that means using what secure calendar equations we do have to prove that a given year is not suitable, rather than trying to assign the decree to whatever year seems to fit most nearly at a given time.[10]

McGregor (**no. 34**), in an article otherwise without bearing on the dating of the First-fruits decree, challenged Meritt's contention that 422/1 was an intercalary year. Using Meritt's synchronism, prytany I,1 = Hekatombaion 10, 422/1, McGregor noted that the first so-called Metonic cycle had eight instead of the ordinary seven intercalations, and thus provided additional evidence against the existence of any regular cycle of intercalations. Thucydides' evidence regarding Cleon's last campaign at Amphipolis is more significant, in McGregor's view, for determining the nature of that year (intercalary or not) than Meritt's attempt to use evidence from the Spartan calendar. With 422/1 an ordinary instead of an intercalary year, McGregor argued that all the evidence can be reconciled. While not of immediate importance to our arguments for the date of IG I^3 78, McGregor's conclusion does affect arguments based on the calendar. His interpretation of Thucydides (5.1) as evidence that the Athenians did not have access to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is a point worthy of some consideration for the dating of the decree. If the Athenians had been excluded from the sanctuary from the beginning of the war to 422/1, a decree such as IG I^3 78 with its emphasis on the oracle could hardly belong to this period. Or could it?

Nos. 32, 35–44

In support of Dinsmoor's date of 416/5, Broneer (**no. 32**) argued that the provisions in Lampon's rider concerning the Pelargikon could best be interpreted as an attempt by the Athenian state to exercise greater control over the religious life of its people. Although the state could not abolish the early,

[9] B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century* (Ann Arbor 1932) 102.

[10] It will, however, be demonstrated below that the evidence from IG I^3 78 itself removes the possibility of dating it to the period for which we have some knowledge about the calendar.

primitive shrines on the north slope of the Acropolis, it could limit their extension. IG I^3 78 may, in fact, offer evidence for the further control by the Athenian State over religious sanctuaries, and this will be discussed in greater detail below (pp. 73-80); but as such, this evidence does not necessarily support Dinsmoor's date, as Broneer thought.

Working with fragments of the Athenian Tribute lists, Raubitschek (**no. 35**) offered evidence for the dating of IG I^3 78 based on the φόρο ἐγλογῆς. "It seems unlikely that boards of collectors were first established for the collection of the First-fruits, and afterwards similar boards for the collection of the tribute. Thus, D8 may have been passed several years before IG I^3 78, an assumption which confirms the date that Meritt now proposes." This fragment, however, now assigned to IG I^3 68, which Lewis dates to 426/5, hardly offers compelling evidence. For it to serve as a *terminus post quem* for IG I^3 78, we would have to suppose that the term ἐγλογῆς could only have arisen in the context of the collection of tribute—clearly an untenable notion.

In spite of partiality to epigraphical characteristics "requiring" a late date, efforts continued to be made to associate the decree with Pericles' *imperialisme pacifique*, as Cloché (**no. 36**) termed it. Without picking a firm date, Cloché fitted the First-fruits decree into the time between 445 and 435, a period of greater success for Athens in her foreign affairs than the preceding period (462-446).

Responding to the desire to link the aparche inscription to Pericles, and in particular the Panhellenic Congress, Will (**no. 37**) proposed dating the main part of the decree (lines 1-46) to 448 but the amendment, and thus the actual date of the decree's inscription, to the time of the peace of Nicias. If the most important aim of the decree was to focus the attention of the Greek world on Attica and to supply a *raison d'être* for the Delian league when its purpose had ceased to exist, the First-fruits decree could be seen as "le complément religieux de l'appel politique adressé aux Hellenes," i.e., the Panhellenic Congress.

Will subscribed completely to Körte's arguments that the decree be dated c. 420 for epigraphical reasons. Indeed, this seemed to simplify the problem of explaining what relationship the provisions of Lampon's amendment had to the main body of the decree. Assigned to a different date, these provisions could be explained as resulting from the time at which they were issued. Thus with the main body of the decree seen as a means to safeguard the very existence of the Delian league in 448 and with Lampon's amendments (which called for this decree to be published) intended to revive its provisions which had fallen into disuse during the Archidamian war, Will thought that both the epigraphical and contextual requirements of IG I^3 78 were satisfied. It

remained only to assign it to a specific year. Preferring McGregor's arguments for 421/0 as intercalary, Will chose 422/1. Considering the disorder of the Athenian calendar which had been without intercalation between 425/4 and 421/0, the intercalation of the more unusual Hekatombaion called for in IG I^3 78 might offer support for 421/0 being intercalary.

The flaws obvious in Will's attempt to dismember the First-fruits decree were noted by J. and L. Robert (**no. 38**) in the following year. To the Roberts it seemed strange indeed to have Λάμπον εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χσυγγραφαὶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τ�ô καρπ�ô τοῖν θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ χσυνγραφὰς καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφσάτο ho γραμματεὺς ho τῆς βολῆς ἐν στέλαιν δυοῖν λιθίναιν κτλ. for a rider composed some twenty years after the decree to which it is attached. They pointed out that were the rider a later addition we should expect it to begin τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος ἐψηφισμένον. In addition, if Will is correct, the prescript ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τοῦ δέμοι κτλ. would also have to be a later addition, making this hypothesis even more tenuous. Clearly this is not the answer to our difficulty in dating IG I^3 78.

Jacoby (**no. 39**) seemed to follow Will in denying any internal connection between the contents of the amendment with that of the main body of the decree when he dated the decree to 416/5 without explanation, thus demonstrating that the arguments advanced against a late date had so far been unconvincing.

Undaunted by the Roberts' decisive rejection of Will's argument, Accame (**no. 40**) attempted to substantiate it. Returning to Ziehen's objection to a date after IG I^3 391, Accame concluded from the absence of the epistatai in the First-fruits decree that this particular board of administrators of the sanctuary at Eleusis must not have been in existence at the time when IG I^3 78 was originally passed. Consequently, the First-fruits inscription must be anterior to 443/2, the date proposed by Kourouniotis for IG I^3 32, the rider creating the board of epistatai. Once a date anterior to 443 is required, Accame saw no objection to placing the decree in 448, the year of Pericles' Panhellenic Congress. Further, a decree emphasizing support from the oracle could safely be put in this period when relations between Athens and Delphi were good. The Athenians had won the right of *promanteia* and had received many favorable oracles, according to Accame, through their repeated aid to the Phocians while they gained control of the sanctuary from the Delphians. He also argued that the respect thus shown by Athens to Delphi and the piety of the Athenians towards the Eleusinian Goddesses displayed in the decree would have offset any negative opinion of Athens caused by Athenian interference at Delphi in favor of the Phocians. In addition, Accame suggested that the call which encourages but does not order all Greek cities to offer first-fruits to Demeter and Kore recalls the

Clearchus decree regulating coinage, weights, and measures, further proof for a date of 448/7.

Having made the beginning of a rather strong case against a date after the peace of Nicias, Accame then followed Will in separating the amendment from the body of the decree and dating it and its inscription to the years after the peace of Nicias, largely to satisfy the epigraphical "necessity" for a later date. The need for increased revenue by the sanctuary following the Archidamian war was cited as further support for this untenable argument. In their notice of Accame's article, J. and L. Robert (**no. 41**) did not even repeat their earlier objections to Will's approach because of its impossibility.

Without offering any arguments in support, Sokolowski (**no. 42**) appeared to put IG I^3 78 sometime during the administration of Pericles. "We know that Perikles obliged the people of Athens and of the states of the Athenian Confederation to offer the first fruits to the Eleusinian divinities." Citing this article by Sokolowski, Feaver (**no. 44**), for unknown reasons, assigned IG I^3 78 to the period between the end of the Archidamian war and the Sicilian expedition.

Rubensohn (**no. 43**) placed the First-fruits inscription in the period either shortly before the peace of Nicias (423/2, citing Ziehen, Kirchner and von Gaertringen), or shortly after the peace (418, citing Körte, or c. 417–415, Wilhelm). Of greater concern to Rubensohn than the exact year was the appearance of τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον (line 29), in its first attested use as a reference to the Telesterion. There can be no doubt according to Rubensohn that this usage is linked with Ictinus's large square hall. "Es ist also wohl kein Zufall, daß in der Vollendung des Weihehauses zeitlich so nahe stehenden Aparche-Urkunde uns zum erstenmal dieser Name entgegentritt." We should question here the identification of the "Eleusinion" with the Telesterion. With regard to recording the first-fruits, I^3 78.26–30 specifies: ἀναγράφσαντες δὲ ἐ[μ] πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τôι καρπôι τôι τε παρὰ τôν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]ῆμον ἑκαστον καὶ τôι παρὰ τὸν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν ηεκάσ[τεν] [κ]αταθέντον ἔν τε τôι Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν τôι βολ[ευτ]ε[ρ]ίοι. Just as Lampon's rider proposes the inscription of the decree on two stelai and the erection of one of these stelai in Athens on the Acropolis and the other in the sanctuary at Eleusis (lines 48-51), so we should probably make a similar distinction here between Eleusis and the City and understand that in line 29 τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον signifies the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in general.[11]

[11] Clinton, in his edition of the inscriptions of Eleusis, will provide additional arguments to show that τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον must refer here to the entire sanctuary.

Guarducci (no. 45)

The various proposals made for dating IG I^3 78 were reviewed and divided into four major categories by Guarducci (**no. 45**) in 1961. The division into groups is made according to date: 1) the Periclean period; 2) the period after 419/8, following Körte; 3) anterior to IG I^3 391 (422/1-419/8); and 4) the Periclean period for the body of the decree with Lampon's amendment assigned to 421. Guarducci similarly presented the major obstacles to each of these positions. Against a date in the Periclean period is the character of the script according to Wilhelm. While Ziehen's objection to Körte might be answered by the emphasis in the decree on the fact that the aparche is to be offered κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, Guarducci, too, noticed the absence of the epistatai from the First-fruits decree, and she found this absence to be a very strong argument against a date after IG I^3 391, where the epistatai are present. Yet Ziehen's date of 423/2 is clearly insupportable because of the unsteady nature of that year's truce. Finally, Will's and Accame's attempts to divide the decree into two parts are countered by the Roberts' objection based on the heading of the amendment. Guarducci then proposed the spring of 424, a date which satisfied the necessity of being anterior to IG I^3 391 yet close enough to the peace of Nicias to conform to the epigraphical requirements. The spring of 424 is the date during the Archidamian war when the Athenians would have felt secure enough, according to Guarducci, to issue this panhellenic invitation. The hopes of Athens had been buoyed by her recent defeat of Sparta at Pylos and Sphacteria (425), the first time the Spartans had ever surrendered. Guarducci found further support in the similarly strong emphasis on religion in this decree and in IG I^3 71, the new tribute assessment. Since 424 would have been the first time in the course of the Archidamian war that the Athenians could have acted to correct its troubled state, Guarducci reconciled Lampon's rider concerning the Pelargikon with this date. Accame (**no. 40**), too, connected the provision concerning the Pelargikon with its sad condition, noted by Thucydides (2.17), resulting from the influx of Athenians from the Attic countryside once Spartan incursions began. The conclusion reached by Accame, however, was that only after the end of the Archidamian war could the Athenians have remedied this problem. The inherent difficulty, then, of associating the rider with Thucydides 2.17 is obvious: once the actual period in which the Pelargikon is violated is passed over, almost any date is as good as another. We should ask, moreover, if the Athenians would have waited ten years, or even five years, to repair the sanctity of the precinct which the Delphic oracle had declared ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

Guarducci's study is more seriously flawed by the fact that she was apparently unaware of the existence of IG I^3 32, which created the board of epistatai; she was, therefore, unable to make full use of her argument concerning the presence and absence of the epistatai in these documents. (This crucial omission will be discussed further below, pp. 78-79.)

Meritt (no. 46): Calendar and other arguments

Meritt (**no. 46**) in 1962 rejected Guarducci's arguments for 424. The basis for his rejection was, of course, the calendar. "One of the most nearly certain of all calendrical data of the fifth century is that both 424/3 and 423/2 were ordinary (not intercalary), and that no intercalation took place between Hekatombaion of 424 and Hekatombaion of 422. A date for IG, I^2, 76 in the spring of 425/4 is not possible." Used here to eliminate a date based on existing calendrical evidence, his argument seems to be sound. Moreover, Meritt's objection to 424 for I^3 78 as unlikely because of the war is reasonable. Is it conceivable, he asked, that heralds were sent out to Megara, for example, to request the offering of first-fruits for Demeter and Kore when Athenians were still ravaging Megara twice a year? If the evidence will allow it, a date outside of the Peloponnesian War seems preferable. Meritt failed, however, to answer Guarducci on the absence of the epistatai from IG I^3 78, asserting only that overseers (epistatai) had existed at Eleusis since the middle of the century. He thereby confused epigraphical possibility (an early date for a document (IG I^3 32) with a three-barred sigma) with fact. A mid-century date for IG I^3 32 is still far from certain. It should already be obvious from my examination of the board of epistatai (and as our discussion below (pp. 85-89) will show) that the date of this document is in need of revision.

Meritt concluded that a date after the peace of Nicias was the only satisfactory date, thus making use of calendar arguments in ways already shown to be unsuitable to the problem of IG I^3 78. In Meritt's judgment, "It is a measure of economy, as well as of epigraphical and historical propriety, to associate the extra Hekatombaion of I.G., I^2, 76, with this calendar irregularity [415/4 and 414/3 both intercalary], for the date thus assumed brings the decree to a time of at least nominal peace, when its Panhellenic provisions are intelligible, and yet still in keeping with the high imperialism which overreached itself in the Sicilian expedition soon thereafter." Although he showed 424 to be unsuitable, the question of the epistatai remains.

Nos. 47-65

Guillon (**no. 47**) agreed with the essential correctness of a date of 421 for the inscription of the First-fruits decree and reiterated the objections already expressed by the Roberts to Will's attempt to dismember the document. Stressing the importance of the role played by Lampon as one of the signers of the peace of Nicias (Thuc. 5.19), he saw the First-fruits decree as having as its goal the assurance of the peace of Nicias. For proof, Guillon cited the "decisive conclusions" of Wilhelm on the lettering of the text and McGregor on the nature of 421/0 as an intercalary year. Any difficulty with understanding the relationship of the amendments to the main body of the text is explained by our lack of knowledge about the period at which it was passed. Conversely, Guillon

concluded, "Ce texte prend ainsi sa pleine signification dans l'ensemble des mesures qui, complétant le geste décisif de la paix de Nicias, a pour object d'assurer à Athènes le retour à la prospérité et tout d'abord, grâce à la faveur des dieux, sa subsistance prochaine." Despite Guarducci's important observation, no mention is made of the epistatai nor is there any attempt made to explain their absence in I^3 78 when their role in I^3 391 is so prominent. And of course his reference to the "decisive conclusions" of Wilhelm and McGregor is misleading.

Mattingly (**no. 48**) then offered support for Guillon's date, finding in it a possible interpretation of IG I^3 391. "No mention of the ἐπιστάται is made in IG I^2 76, and it may be that these payments were authorized by some clause in the decree probably passed earlier in this same tenth prytany, when Lampon's proposal for the olive-harvest ἀπαρχή was debated in the Assembly. However this may be, both payments reflect the urgent execution by the Council in office of the provisions of IG I^2 76." Mattingly does not explain how the payments by the hieropoioi to the epistatai in IG I^3 391 can be seen as reflecting the provisions of the First-fruits decree when IG I^3 78 simply specifies that the hieropoioi with the Boule are to make dedications from the money remaining from the first-fruits. To suppose that this major administrative change in procedure and officials was introduced at the time of the debate on the first-fruits from the olive-oil harvest, i.e., on a proposal in an amendment, seems a rather inadequate answer to Bannier's objection. It is difficult to see the point of it.

Soon thereafter, however, Mattingly (**no. 49**) found difficulty with Guillon's date, especially in connection with his redating of the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52). Once he redated the Kallias decrees from their more generally accepted date of 434/3 to 422/1, Mattingly realized that the First-fruits decree could not then also belong to that year: the secretary recorded in IG I^3 78, when Kekropis was the prytanizing tribe, is Timoteles, while Mnesitheos is secretary for Kekropis in the year of the Kallias decree. Convinced of the 422/1 date for the Kallias decrees, but reluctant to move the First-fruits decree far from this period because of its suitability to the peace-time requirements of the decree, Mattingly found an alternative in dating IG I^3 78, and the beginning of the movement for peace, to 423/2. He cited Guarducci's arguments for a date before 421 as support for this new date. The absence of the archon's name in the prescript of the decree also provided additional support, in Mattingly's view, for an earlier date, since no decree without the archon's name exists which must be dated between 421 and 404. The only problem remaining then was to ascertain whether 421/0 is really an intercalary year. Formerly convinced by Guillon's and others' arguments for 421/0 as intercalary, Mattingly now thought IG I^3 78 might provide evidence in favor of 422/1 as the intercalary year. Alternatively

he suggested that Lampon's provision for the intercalation of an additional Hekatombaion was never carried out, in which case it would not matter which year was intercalary. But with such reasoning the importance of having the date for IG I^3 78 satisfy calendar requirements vanishes. In any event, Mattingly's arguments, based on his redating of the Kallias decrees, do not seem to add anything significant to the question of the date of IG I^3 78. The problem of the epistatai remains for Mattingly, however, since in following Guarducci, he apparently did not realize that she was unaware of the existence of IG I^3 32.

In an article devoted solely to IG I^3 78 which appeared two years later, Mattingly (**no. 50**) attempted to support his date of 423/2 with evidence from several fronts. Citing the conditions of the truce of 423 (Thuc. 4.118), Mattingly concluded that Athens was allowed free access to Delphi at this time. Clearly Athens was making efforts to placate Delphi in order to turn the sanctuary's pro-Spartan attitude to, perhaps, one of neutrality. The purification of Delos in 425 by the Athenians could also be seen as an attempt to foster religious unity in the Empire. Also in 425 the allies were required to offer a cow and panoply at the Great Panatheneia, to be brought for the first time in 422 (IG I^3 71). The First-fruits decree could be assigned to this same period, as yet another example of Athens asserting her hegemony on a religious level.

Mattingly thought, therefore, that the First-fruits decree should be dated to 423/2, the date proposed by Ziehen. The provision concerning the sanctity of the Pelargikon could then be compared with the purification of Delos. On this basis 423/2 is appropriate, since overcrowding was still prevalent in Athens in 424, according to Aristophanes (*Eq.*792), and it was only after that year that Attica would have been safe from further destruction. Noting the condition of the Pelargikon, Mattingly further conjectured that as the time approached for the Great Panathenaia of 422, when the cow and panoply would first be offered by the allies, there would have been heightened concern about its appearance. Indeed, the call for the offering of first-fruits to Demeter and Kore could be seen as an effort to appease the gods—just as the measures set forth in the amendment to protect the Pelargikon.

On the question of whether 422/1 was intercalary or not, Mattingly raised the problem posed by the secretary, Prepis, in IG I^3 391, who was also secretary in the decree related to the construction of a bridge over the Rheitoi (IG I^3 79). In IG I^3 391 Prepis is named as secretary during the archonship of Aristion. But IG I^3 472.5 names Menekles of Anaphlystos as secretary during the archonship of Aristion. Clearly both men were not secretary for the entire year of the same archon. The answer undoubtedly lies in the lack of coincidence between the conciliar and archon years. Hence Mattingly suggested that Prepis would have been the secretary for the year 422/1 but would have continued at the beginning of Aristion's archonship, probably because of a failure to

intercalate when necessary.[12] This is a difficult problem. Of relevance to IG I^3 78 is only the conclusion which Mattingly draws. If Prepis is the first secretary in 422/1 (IG I^3 79), then there can have been no intercalation that year. Thus if IG I^3 78 is dated to 423/2, Mattingly must now maintain, as he does, that the intercalation proposed by Lampon and passed by the Boule and Demos cannot have been carried out. This solution is obviously *ad hoc*, designed mainly to preserve 423/2 as the date in the face of new and contrary evidence, and so Mattingly discards all his previous attempts to align I^3 78 with a suitable intercalary year.

Meritt and McGregor (**no. 51**) maintained that Prepis was secretary in 422/1, since Menekles was named as secretary for 421/0 in IG I^3 472. The solution they proposed was that Prepis was first secretary in the conciliar year 422/1 but that his term overlapped the beginning of Aristion's archonship, 421/0. The proceeds thus recorded in IG I^3 391 must have been made, or recorded, during that period of overlap.

Their conclusion, unlike Mattingly's, is that the First-fruits decree cannot be dated to 423/2, or any year at that time because the years from 425/4 to 422/1 were all ordinary. "Moreover," stated McGregor and Meritt, "the amounts of the money recorded as received by the epistatai are so trivial that one can hardly believe the provision of the tax decree {IG I^2 76} to have been in effect during the years covered by IG I^2 311 [IG I^3 391]." Ziehen had already shown, from the actual provisions of the decree, the faultiness of this reasoning. Moreover, this explanation, first advanced by Körte in 1896, does not adequately deal with the relationship of IG I^3 391 to IG I^3 78, in particular the absence of the epistatai from the latter. So, while they ruled out 423/2 on the basis of the calendar, Meritt and McGregor did not eliminate the weakness in their arguments for 416/5.

To Meritt's objection to 423/2 on the basis of the calendar, Mattingly (**no. 52**) put forth his own objections to a date after the peace of Nicias. "There can be no easy escape by putting IG, I^2, 76 after the Peace of Nicias, as Meritt continues to do .... The absence of archon-dating is an immediate objection." Mattingly would now follow Guarducci in dating the decree to 425/4 in spite of Meritt's assertion that the following year was ordinary. The intercalation of a second Hekatombaion instead of the more usual Posideon would work for Meritt's calendar equations for 424/3 and 423/2, according to Mattingly. The only difference would be the celebration of the Panathenaia in the second Hekatombaion in 424, something Meritt (**no. 53**) himself suggested for 416/5

[12] Meritt (*The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century* (Cambridge 1928) 112-14) suggested that perhaps Prepis died in office and was succeeded by Menekles.

or 415/4. Finally, Mattingly noted that the secretary for the tribe Kekropis in the third Methone decree, also dated to 425/4, has a nine letter name ending in -εϛ. Timoteles, the secretary named in IG I^3 78, would fit perfectly. Meritt's objection to 425/4 on account of all the military activity in that year, however, still remained valid.

The First-fruits decree is dated to "around 423" by Sokolowski (**no. 54**) in his *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*. While giving no explanation for abandoning his opinion that it belonged to the Periclean period (**no. 42**), and now dating the decree to 423, Sokolowski commented that "Le Pélargicon était un terrain sacré, mais pendant le siège d'Athènes par l'armée spartiate plusieurs réfugiés s'y sont installés. Comme c'était l'usage, ils ont construit des autels pour se défendre contre l'eviction." Thus Sokolowski saw a connection between Lampon's rider and the overcrowded conditions caused by the Archidamian war described by Thucydides (2.17).

Meiggs and Lewis (**no. 55**), however, dated the First-fruits decree tentatively to c. 422. They proposed this date tentatively because IG I^3 391 seemed to provide a *terminus ante quem*, though not a firm one. Commenting on the course that the attempts to date the decree had taken, Meiggs and Lewis noted that "recent discussion has leant heavily on Wilhelm's view of the letter-forms ... though his comparison with documents of 420 and 415 has received more notice than his comparison with No. 61 of 432 {IG I^2 295}. The strongest epigraphic argument for a late date, 422-415, lies in the frequent omission of the aspirate, but we are not convinced that a date even as early as 435 is formally impossible." Meiggs and Lewis made an important contribution in recognizing Wilhelm's actual view and the possibility of an earlier date, epigraphic grounds considered, especially given all of the difficulties surrounding dates between 425 and 415.

Jameson (**no. 56**,) in his review of Meiggs and Lewis, however, fell back on Körte's argument based on the paltry sums recorded in IG I^3 391 as evidence against a date before the peace of Nicias. "The small sums given to the epistatai by the hieropoioi in 421/0 and 420/19, even if we suppose they received only a fraction, do not argue for the existence of the elaborate machinery described in the decree." This so-called "elaborate machinery" which exists in IG I^3 78, however, makes no mention of the epistatai, an absence which is all the more surprising in view of the elaborateness of the machinery: it seems incredible that such an elaborate system could have ignored the epistatai altogether. Jameson did not address this problem. Nor does Jameson's case, based on Delphi's support for the first-fruits, absolutely necessitate a date after

the Peace of Nicias. In citing Parke and Wormell,[13] Jameson only offered an additional argument against a date during the Archidamian War. (The problem of Athens' relations with Delphi will be discussed at length below, pp. 86-88.)

Since the existence of the epistatai in IG I^3 391 argues against dating IG I^3 78, where the epistatai are not mentioned, to the period just before 421, two possibilities remain. IG I^3 78 comes after IG I^3 391, or it comes so much earlier that the "machinery" of IG I^3 78 had been considerably altered by the time IG I^3 391 was issued. The latter possibility will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Once again on the basis of epigraphic evidence, Mattingly (**no. 57**) rejected a date after the peace of Nicias. The absence of dating by archon, he reiterated, rules out a date after 421, for in the period from 421/0 to 405/4 there are twenty-one decrees preserved with undeniable archon dates, naming twelve different archons. In addition to these, another six can be so restored. For this very reason Mattingly preferred to give an earlier date to three other decrees. The only decree without archon dating which must be placed in this period is one proposed for the Klazomenians at Daphnous by Alcibiades (IG I^3 119), and this of course tends to weaken his argument considerably. The form in which Timoteles' name, the secretary in IG I^3 78, is given is also used by Mattingly in support of his view. In prescripts, the name and demotic is the usual form, while the name and patronymic is in fashion only in the late 420s. This gave way to the use of name, patronymic and demotic. A date, then, of 422/1 with Prepis as secretary, could be appropriate for the change in usage to the name plus demotic (Τιμοτέλες Ἀχαρνεὺς) attested here in IG I^3 78, in Mattingly's view.

Although 422/1 thus becomes for Mattingly an appropriate date, since 421/0 is generally agreed to be intercalary, Mattingly did not reject Guarducci's date of 425/4. In addition to finding her arguments convincing, Mattingly thought the Methone stele of 425/4, with a secretary's name of nine letters ending in -ες (mentioned above), could fit Timoteles, the secretary for IG I^3 78. For him, the final confirmation of this as the correct date came from the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52): since these are "firmly" redated to 422/1 by Mattingly, the First-fruits decree must be assigned to 425/4. Mattingly, however, still did not offer a compelling refutation of Meritt's objection to 425/4, nor did he adequately answer the earlier objections to the late 420s.

Henry (**no. 61**) questioned the methodological soundness of the means by which Mattingly (**no. 57**) arrived at his "421 rule" whereby any document without archon dating in the prescript must be dated before 421. While Henry

[13] H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle I The History* (Oxford 1956) 192-93.

did not address the question of the date of IG I^3 78, he demonstrated that many of the examples cited by Mattingly to support his "421 rule" are open to alternative restoration.

While subscribing to the 416/5 or 415/4 date proposed by Meritt, Clinton (**no. 59**) commented on the significance of IG I^3 78. "What we are witnessing here is the remaking of an old, local custom into an institution of such a grand scale that state personnel (the *hieropoioi*) are required to handle the main administrative burdens and consequently overshadow here the traditional administrators of the sanctuary, the hierophant and the daduch." This suggests the reason for the emphasis on both τὰ πάτρια and the Delphic oracle. As Clinton explained, Delphi was usually consulted in cases where the scope of the reform was beyond τὰ πάτρια, that is "when something unprecedented was about to be undertaken." This dramatic increase in the scale of the offerings of the aparche as well as the predominance of the hieropoioi over the hierophant and daduch suggest the extent of Athenian imperialism at the date of this decree. In his opinion, the priests' announcement at the Mysteries appears somewhat *pro forma*, that is, designed to lend a sense of legitimacy to this greatly expanded version of the offering of the aparchai.

Meritt (**no. 60**) too called attention to the note of imperialism evident in the First-fruits decree when he again affirmed the correctness of his 416/5 date. Prompted by the possibility of error in the Logistai accounts (IG I^3 370.50–58), and the difficulty of the intercalation of a second Hekatombaion for these accounts, Meritt contemplated redating IG I^3 78 to 415/4. He concluded, however, that the tone of imperialism plus the "pious regard for the shrines of the Pelargikon seem more appropriate to the time of the Sicilian expedition. In any case, since the intercalation of the extra Hekatombaion was intended to gain additional time for the delivery of the first-fruits, we can conclude that the Panathenaia would have been celebrated normally, in the first Hekatombaion. Thus any difficulties caused by the logistai inscription and the calendar are resolved."

Mattingly (**no. 62**) cited the parallelism in phrasing as well as the unusual word order which appears in both the First-fruits decree and the Athenian decree for Miletus (I^3 21) in arguing for a date of 426/5 for the latter document, which is in accord with I^3 78 which "general consensus now puts in the decade of 425–415 B.C."

In the course of describing the Pelargikon as a "zona di rispetto" which, until the fifth century, could accommodate all the inhabitants of the countryside in case of temporary calamity, Nenci (**no. 63**) discussed Lampon's amendment.

He assigned a date between 423–421 to the decree and commented, "quello che doveva conoscere Tucidide nel momento in cui scriveva II, 17, l'epigrafe sulle primizie, databile com'è noto al 423–421 a.C., ci conferma il proposito di rimettere in vigore l'antica interdizione, dopo che l'occupazione del Pelargico nel 431 l'aveva di fatto violata (decreto forse anch'esso noto a Tucidide, che peraltro in II, 17 non ne tradisce la conoscenza, o perché II, 17 fu composto prima del 423–421 o per coerenza narrativa)." Although he linked Lampon's amendment with the situation described by Thucydides, Nenci did not offer any more precise arguments for the years 423–421, but did place the interdiction against destroying or digging up the Pelargikon mentioned by Pollux (8.101) prior to Lampon's amendment.

Hanson (**no. 64**) simply assumed a date of "422 (?)" for the First-fruits decree which then allowed him to make the further inference that olive trees were alive and productive three years after the last Peloponnesian invasion of the Archidamian war. Hanson inferred further that the offering of first fruits illustrates Attica's "well-being" at this time: without adequate agricultural production such a decree would be "ridiculous, if not cruel." While Hanson's inferences are reasonable, they only require a date when Attica enjoyed a reasonable amount of agricultural production. Although we do not know whether Attica had achieved such production by 422, a bit of skepticism, on general grounds, seems warranted.

Mattingly (**no. 65**) contrasted the sensitivity of inviting, not commanding, Greek participation in the offering of the first-fruits (lines 30–33), which he dated generally to the late 420s, with the insensitivity on this very point (i.e., the subordinate status of the allies) evident in the Coinage and Kleinias decrees. Yet he also noted the "overtly imperial" tone of these last two decrees and found the closest parallel for them in the late 420s with the First-fruits decree. He preferred a date in the 420s for both the Coinage and Kleinias decrees, but admitted that this parallel with the First-fruits decree "alone cannot obviously exclude them from the early 440s."

Conclusion

In conclusion, the attempts made to date the First-fruits decree solely on the basis of epigraphic criteria and/or calendar equations have failed. The body of evidence on which such judgments can be made is lacking, and renders these efforts methodologically unsound. The objection, originally raised by Körte, that the sums recorded in IG I^3 391 are too paltry to allow for the elaborate machinery detailed in IG I^3 78 can readily be explained by the

conditions brought on by the Peloponnesian War. What remains, however, is the fact that the epistatai are absent from the First-fruits decree, a decree which specifies the administration of every aspect of the first-fruits in great detail and where only the hieropoioi are named. IG I^3 391 does testify to a period of at least four years of shared jurisdiction over the first-fruits by the epistatai and the hieropoioi during the last quarter of the fifth century.

While it is tantalizing to link Lampon's amendment with the state of the Pelargikon described by Thucydides (2.17), we lack sufficient evidence to do so. Moreover, the terms of the amendment do not require a date after the occupation of the Pelargikon by those seeking refuge in Athens at the beginning of the Archidamian War. The objections raised to placing the First-fruits decree at any time during a period of war, however, remain valid.

A more fruitful approach to the dating of the First-fruits decree will be found in considering the boards of officials involved with the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the fifth century. It is only by placing the First-fruits decree in the context provided by the existing documents for the Eleusinian sanctuary that we can utilize what information we have as well as appreciate the full importance of the decree.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DATE OF THE FIRST-FRUITS DECREE (IG I^3 78)

With a complete discussion of the previous attempts to date the Eleusinian First-fruits decree (IG I^3 78) and an examination of the board of epistatai before us, we can now consider the evidence which the other Eleusinian inscriptions provide for the dating of this document.

The earliest document we have which deals with the aparche, the first-fruits, is an Eleusinian *lex sacra* (IG I^3 6). The approximate date assigned to this inscription on the basis of letter forms is c. 460 B.C. The subject of the aparche appears on Face C of the inscription, which is otherwise concerned with the perquisites to be paid to the priests of Demeter by the initiates. I quote the relevant lines from the text of this document published by Clinton.[1]

32 τὸ δὲ ḥ[ι]ερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τῆς ἀπαρ]
χῆς ἐχ[σ]ẹῖναι Ἀθεν[αίοις ...]
[.]σθαι ḥό̣[τι] ἂν βόλο[νται, καθά]
περ τὸ τῆς Ἀθεναία̣[ς ἀργυρίο]
36 τὸ ἐμ πόλει· τὸ̣ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]
ς hιεροποιὸς τ̣[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐ]
[μ] πόλ̣ει ταμιεύεσθ[αι .....]

The actual administration of the money from the aparche is in the hands of the hieropoioi (τὸ̣ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]ς hιεροποιὸς τ̣[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐμ] πόλ̣ει ταμιεύεσθ[αι], lines 36-38) who alone are named the administrators of the money located on the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει). Proceeds from the aparche, part of the treasure of the Goddesses, are located on the Acropolis already in the second quarter of the fifth century. Thus the designation of the aparche as ἐμ πόλει in the account-inventories (IG I^3 386-387) issued by the epistatai in the last decade of the century (408/7) is the continuation of a well-established practice rather than a result of the Peloponnesian War or of any administrative changes occasioned by it.

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[1] Clinton, *Officials* 10-12.

The Athenian people are authorized to make use of the money accruing from the first-fruits however they see fit: τὸ δὲ ḥ[ι]ερὸ ἀṛγυρί[ο τὲς ἀπαρ]χὲς ἐχ[σ]ε̣ῖναι Ἀθεν[αίοισι χρὲ]σθαι ḥό̣[τι] ἂν β̣όλο[νται]. The close interaction of the Athenian state with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, in this early document is striking.[2]

While the *lex sacra* (IG I^3 6) testifies to the prominence of the hieropoioi in the administration of the money belonging to the Two Goddesses, another inscription of a somewhat earlier, though unknown, date shows their importance in the cult as sacrificers (IG I^3 5). Clinton has shown that IG I^3 5 regulates sacrifices at the Mysteries. The title ιεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσινίων, i.e., the hieropoioi of the Eleusinians, may reflect the significance of the role once played by the Eleusinians in the Eleusinia and the Mysteries. "Eventually, however, they gave way to the two gene and the Athenian State. Perhaps even at this date the title indicated that the hieropoioi were appointed by or drawn from the Eleusinians, but surely later in the century they were appointed by the State, probably the Boule. The duties of the late fifth century ιεροποιοί included some limited administrative and sacrificial activities at the Mysteria, i.e., mainly activities in which the State had an interest and which it did not wish to be handled by the gene, e.g. the Aparche."[3] On the basis of these two documents then, we can safely infer that the hieropoioi were prominent in both the financial and the religious sphere of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis for the first half of the fifth century.

The power of the hieropoioi in the financial administration of the sanctuary was considerably diminished by the last quarter of the fifth century, as the accounts issued by the epistatai (IG I^3 391) for the years 422/1 to 419/8 show. The hieropoioi are now handing over at least a portion of the proceeds from their sale of the first-fruits, ἀπαρχή, to a board of epistatai created to oversee the financial affairs of the Two Goddesses in IG I^3 32 (ἐπιστῆναι τοῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν). We do not know precisely what the sums recorded in IG I^3 391 represent, perhaps money remaining after the purchase of sacrificial animals and (possibly) dedications (IG I^3 78.36-43). While dedications are

[2] It tends further to support Linder's assertion that the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52) do not represent an attempt by the state to secularize the sacred property belonging to the local cults. See discussion above (p. 10, n. 13) and Linders, *Treasurers* passim.

[3] K. Clinton, "IG I^2 5, The Eleusinia, and the Eleusinians," *AJP* 100 (1979) 1-12. For further discussion of IG I^3 5 and sacrifice at the Mysteries, see K. Clinton, "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries," in *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 38 Stockholm 1988) 70-71; and K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult, The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, The Martin Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, XI Stockholm 1992) 83, n. 109.

specified in IG I^3 78 we do not know whether any were made at the time of IG I^3 391. The low figures recorded here may simply reflect the low aparche collected in these years.

IG I^3 32 specified that these epistatai were to act, at least as far as expenditures were concerned, in consultation with the sacred officials of the cult and the Boule: ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]λιστα δέει μετὰ τὸν hιερέον καὶ τêς β[ολ]êς βολευομένος τὸ λοιπόν (lines 28-30). Hence the transfer of this money from the aparche is made under the supervision of the Boule: ἐπὶ τêς βολêς [h]êι Χαρîνος πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπ' Ἀστυφίλο ἄρχοντος, ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν, hοῖσι Φιλόστρατος Κυδαθεναιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρεδέχσαντο παρὰ hιεροποι[ô]ν Ἐλευσῖνι ... ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τô σίτο τêς ἀπαρχêς τοῖν θεοῖν (IG I^3 391.14-21). Thus the already close supervision of the money of the Two Goddesses by the Athenian state seen earlier in IG I^3 6 has intensified. Instead of being administered solely by the hieropoioi with their strong connection with the Eleusinian cult, the financial aspects of the aparche are now managed by the more secular board of epistatai chosen from Athenians at large ἄ[νδρας δὲ hελέσ]θ[αι Ἀ]θεναίον πέ[ν]τε (lines 7-8). But the basic administration of the first-fruits is still a function of the hieropoioi at this point (422/1). Since they hand over surplus from the sale of the first-fruits, clearly the hieropoioi still have essential control over the handling of the first-fruits. Indeed, the four consecutive *paradoseis*, or transfers, recorded for these years by the epistatai indicate at best a period of shared jurisdiction by the epistatai and hieropoioi within a very limited area. But the epistatai here are clearly the only Eleusinian officials who have final administrative control of these funds.

This eclipse of the hieropoioi in both their functions and prominence in the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is complete by the last decade of the fifth century. In 408/7 the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι issue account-inventories (IG I^3 386-387, see below, Part II) for the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. These documents record the possessions belonging to Demeter and Kore on the Acropolis, at the City Eleusinion in Athens and at the sanctuary in Eleusis as well as income received and expenditures made, including a loan to the Athenian state. The ἀπαρχή is among the items inventoried on the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει). Clearly the epistatai now have assumed complete control over the financial administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

The absence of any new aparche from the record of the year's income in the final section of IG I^3 386 and, correspondingly, in the total amount of aparche recorded in IG I^3 387 does not allow us to conclude that shared jurisdiction had ended. We could so conclude if newly received aparche was recorded by the epistatai without mention of any *paradosis* by a board of hieropoioi. In the absence of such a record, while it is not unreasonable to suppose that the epistatai alone were in charge of the aparche, this must remain

merely a reasonable inference.

The correct explanation for the lack of any record of newly received aparche here is that probably none was offered at this time, due to the condition of Attica since the Spartan occupation of Decelea from 413 and the chaotic state of affairs in Athens during the final years of the Peloponnesian War. We learn from Xenophon (*Hellenica* 1.4.20) that the procession from Athens to Eleusis to celebrate the Mysteries was conducted as usual, for the first time in a long while, by land when Alcibiades returned in 407: πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας. Plutarch (*Alcibiades* 34.3-5) describes in much greater detail Alcibiades' restoration of the celebration of the Mysteries to their former glory: Ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐπετειχίσθη Δεκέλεια καὶ τῶν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα παρόδων ἐκράτουν οἱ πολέμιοι παρόντες, οὐδένα κόσμον εἶχεν ἡ τελετὴ πεμπομένη κατὰ θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ' ὁδὸν ἱερῶν, ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἴακχον, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐξελείπετο. Given the irregular conduct of the Mysteries as well as the debilitated state of the economy and agriculture, it is doubtful that enough grain had been collected to meet the requirements of the πέλανος and to allow for the purchase of the required sacrificial animals, not to mention a surplus.

Even so, the lack of newly received aparche in our accounts for 408/7-407/6 does not cloud the picture of the epistatai's pre-eminence in the administration of the sanctuary. Their general control over the sanctuary's physical maintenance and their financial control of the aparche in 408/7 seen in these accounts show that they have assumed functions formerly performed by the hieropoioi. At the time of the First-fruits decree the hieropoioi were the ones in charge of both the construction of the new warehouses and the expenditures necessary for them which were to be made from the general treasury: οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρῆς Ἐλευσῖνι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκῆι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς καὶ τῶι ἀρχιτέκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἦναι ἀπὸ τῶ ἀργυρίο τῶ τοῖν θεοῖν (lines 10-12). These functions have clearly passed under the control of the epistatai who now, by 408/7, have complete administrative control over the ἀργύριον τῶ τοῖν θεοῖν.

Nor is the role of the epistatai as the sanctuary's administrators short-lived. The account-inventories of 408/7 (IG I^3 386-387) alone constitute evidence for two consecutive annual *paradoseis* involving three boards of epistatai. In addition to these dated documents, the undated fragments (IG I^3 388–390; 392–395) show the epistatai in control of the sanctuary's financial administration in roughly the last two decades of the fifth century. The more abundant records for the fourth century indicate that they continued in this role (see above, Chapter One). The replacement of the hieropoioi in the financial administration by the epistatai is thus fairly well documented.

What these fifth century documents tell us, then, is that the hieropoioi

were the chief administrators of the finances of the Two Goddesses around 460 B.C. (IG I^3 6). At that time their powers included complete control over the aparche, already being kept on the Acropolis. At some point in the course of the next forty years the hieropoioi ceased to control the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. They assumed a more subsidiary role at the side of the epistatai, who were then in control of the Goddesses' finances. The hieropoioi continued to exercise some sort of role with regard to the aparche but turned over at least some portion of the money from the sale of the first-fruits to the epistatai, for a period of at least four years (422/1-419/8). Within the next twelve years, however, further administrative change seems to have occurred: the replacement of the hieropoioi by the epistatai seems to be complete by 408/7, though the evidence is not conclusive. The continued predominance of the epistatai in the fourth century is well attested[4] (see Chapter One).

In light of the administrative progression just outlined, we may now consider where the First-fruits decree (IG I^3 78) belongs. According to the procedure specified in this document for the collection of the aparche, the demarchs are to collect the wheat and barley in their respective demes and turn it over to the hieropoioi (lines 8-10). Likewise, the ἐγλογεῖς chosen by the various cities in the Empire are to transport the grain to Eleusis, and are to turn it over there to the hieropoioi (lines 14-18). The hieropoioi are also to receive any first-fruits offered by any other Greek city (lines 34-35). The fine for any of the hieropoioi who fail to accept the first-fruits is set forth: εὐθυνόσθον hοι hιεροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν ˅ δραχμêσι [hέκασ]τος (lines 18-21). Earlier in the decree the hieropoioi are charged with the task of constructing three additional warehouses to accommodate the grain expected from this general call for the offering of the first-fruits; they are to build these warehouses as seems most suitable to them and an architect with funds from the general treasury of the Two Goddesses: οἰκοδομêσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρêς Ἐλευσῖνι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκêι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς καὶ τôι ἀρ[χ]ιτέκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἐναι ἀπὸ τô ἀργυρίο τô τοῖν θεοῖν (lines 10-12).

Furthermore, the role of the hieropoioi is not restricted to financial or physical management of the sanctuary. They are the ones charged with the offering of the necessary sacrifices (in accordance with the exegesis of the Eumolpidae): θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τô πελανô καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσhεγô]νται ... (lines 36-37). They are to sell whatever grain remains after the actual sacrifices in order to produce dedications to be set up for the Two

[4] At some point, certain duties related to the aparche passed to a new group of officials, the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς. They receive grain for the πελανός and money for dedications from the epistatai (IG II^2 1672.280, 288-89, 295, 299-300). Clearly, though, the epistatai are the ones in charge of both the collection of the aparche and the financial resources of the Two Goddesses.

Goddesses, as the hieropoioi together with the Boule and the Demos decide: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀποδομένος τὸς ιερποιὸς μετὰ τῆς βολῆς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέναι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος ἁττ' ἂν τῶι δέμοι τῶι Ἀθεναίον δοκῆι (lines 40-43).

Every aspect relating to the first-fruits—(1) its collection from the demes of Attica, the cities of the Empire, and even other Greek cities, (2) provisions for its storage in warehouses at Eleusis, and (3) its use to buy the animals required for sacrifice and finally dedication—was carefully prescribed by this commission of *syngrapheis*. The hieropoioi are charged with responsibility for the aparche in every respect listed above. Nothing is said about sharing their task with any one, save consultation with the architect in the construction of the new warehouses, and in this case they are to pay for the expense from the treasury of the Two Goddesses (ἀπὸ τῶ ἀργυρίο τῶ τῶν θεοῖν), a treasury to which they apparently have direct access. More specifically, there is absolutely no mention of the board of epistatai, no hint of their existence, in the First-fruits decree. By simple economy of hypothesis, therefore, we ought to conclude that the First-fruits decree antedates 422/1, the date for which we have our first evidence of shared jurisdiction over the aparche by the hieropoioi and epistatai. It does not make sense to place the First-fruits decree in this period of shared jurisdiction or in a period when the power of the epistatai was even greater. Not only are the hieropoioi named in the First-fruits decree as the sole officials in charge of every aspect of the aparche, they alone are concerned with general financial duties and construction, as the description of the construction of the three additional warehouses indicates. To place this decree, therefore, in a period when the epistatai are functioning as sanctuary administrators and have so much more financial authority than the hieropoioi would unnecessarily complicate the otherwise clear picture of the course of the sanctuary's administration. We have no evidence from which to posit a resurgence of the hieropoioi as the sole administrators of the aparche and sanctuary after the partial loss of their power to the epistatai that is documented by IG I^3 391. There seems, therefore, to be no place between IG I^3 391 (422/418) and IG I^3 386-387 (408/7) for a decree in which the hieropoioi are pre-eminently important and in which the epistatai have no part nor even a mention.

In addition, what is especially striking about the First-fruits decree is the absence of the epistatai in the very areas of administration where the decree in which they were created (IG I^3 32) tells us that we should expect their activity, and where IG I^3 386-387 shows us that they were indeed at work: spending money from the treasury of the Goddesses (IG I^3 32.28-30: ἀναλίσκεν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν [μά]λιστα δέει μετὰ τῶν ιερέον καὶ τῆς β[ολ]ῆς βολευομένος τὸ λοιπόν) and overseeing construction (IG I^3 32.12-13: ἐπισ[τῆ]ναι [τ]οῖς

χρεμασι τοῖς τοῖν θ[ε]οῖν καθάπερ hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι). The natural conclusion that we should draw is that at the time of IG I^3 78 the epistatai did not exist. It follows then that IG I^3 32, the decree creating the board of epistatai, must postdate IG I^3 78.

To repeat, on the basis of the development in the sanctuary's administration, we can rule out a date after 422/1 for the First-fruits decree. This effectively eliminates the arguments advanced by Körte (and those who followed him) for 418 B.C. His misinterpretation of the amounts recorded by the epistatai in IG I^3 391 was already answered, in part, by Ziehen, and can be answered in a number of additional ways (see above, pp. 43-45). No reasonable explanation, on the other hand, for the complete absence of the epistatai from the First-fruits decree has yet been offered. Thus while it may be epigraphically defensible, although not necessary, to date the decree to the 420s or later, the context provided by the other Eleusinian documents will not permit it.

With Körte's argument and his date untenable, we can dismiss all the arguments based on the Athenian calendar; for all of the scholars who invoked these arguments, beginning with Geerlings, proceeded on the assumption of the basic correctness of Körte's argument. Thus Meritt's and Dinsmoor's date of 416/5 as the only one suitable on the basis of calendar requirements, i.e., the intercalation of an extra Hekatombaion, has to be rejected. While it would be desirable to confirm the date for IG I^3 78 by a suitable calendar equation, the use of calendar arguments to show that one or another year is intercalary in order to date the decree in disregard of the text itself and other evidence from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is not permissible. Even if an indisputable calendar equation existed showing one of the years between IG I^3 391 and 386-387 as intercalary, with Hekatombaion as the month intercalated, we still would not have to assign IG I^3 78 to that year. With so little evidence for the fifth century, can we even be sure what month was the one most normally intercalated? Indeed the authors cited above do not seem to be sure whether Metageitnion or Gamelion or Posideon is the usual month for intercalation. Clearly the evidence provided by the fourth century does not tell us if there was a typical intercalary month in the fifth century. Thus, calendar evidence should be used principally to rule out dates that are ruled in by epigraphical and contextual considerations.

Given that the date of the First-fruits decree must antedate the period when jurisdiction was shared by the hieropoioi and epistatai implied by IG I^3 32 and in effect in IG I^3 391, that is, it must fall before 432/1 (the earliest date permissible for IG I^3 32, as I have argued above in Chapter Two), we can now see if the epigraphical framework in which we must operate helps to fix a more appropriate date. A brief review of the limits suggested by the inscription will be useful. As outlined in the previous chapter, the use of the four-barred sigma

suggested to Eustratiadis, the first editor of the decree, a date after 445. The more archaic forms of the dative plurals of the first declension are often taken to favor a date before 420.[5] The absence of dating by archon (which both Walbank and Mattingly agree to be normal for the years before 421/0), would tend to support this lower limit. It is noteworthy that these are the *termini* proposed by Eustratiadis in 1880 on the basis of the Eleusinian copy alone.

Körte's criteria, set forth after the discovery of the Acropolis fragment, were the first based on both copies of the decree: the frequent omission of the aspirate, the longer Ionic datives (-σι) for the a-stem while the shorter form (-οις) was more common with the o-stem words. For Körte these characteristics suggested a later date. But we have seen in the last chapter (pp. 47-50) that all these characteristics—the omission of the aspirate, long/short forms of datives or imperatives—are valueless for precise dating. They provide useful criteria for *termini post* or *ante quem non* but nothing more. Unfortunately, the emphasis in the scholarship on IG I^3 78 on the newer forms as a means of ruling out earlier dates has been a rather misguided effort: a precise *terminus ante quem non* cannot be fixed for the use of the newer forms.

Regarding especially the Acropolis fragment, Wilhelm noted the magnificent letter forms characteristic of the second half of the fifth century. Specifically, he compared the lettering of the First-fruits decree to four inscriptions, two from the peace of Nicias, a third dated to 433/2 (IG I^3 364) and the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52), now dated to 434/3. While admitting that the strongest likeness is to those of later date, Wilhelm did not rule out an earlier date.[6] Given these parallels, a date in the 430s for the First-fruits decree is not unreasonable on epigraphic grounds alone. More recently, Meiggs and Lewis,

[5] H. T. Wade-Gery ("The Financial Decrees of Kallias (IG I^2 91-92)," *JHS* 51 (1931) 57-85) presented a table of epigraphic occurrences of datives in -αις, and noted that "our evidence is (Meisterhans-Schwyzer, Grammatik^3, 120-21) that the two syllable ending of the dative plural of the first declension persisted much longer, and more exclusively, than that of the second declension, and then disappears with great suddenness, round about the year 420." He observed that this rule already seemed less absolute than it had previously and he ultimately cautioned that because first declension datives are not as common as those of the second declension, any rule where they are concerned is more hazardous. Mattingly ("Periclean Imperialism," in *Ancient Society and Institutions, Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford 1966) 197) argued that ATL ii, Lists 25 and 26 would seem to take the first occurrence of -αις no further back than 429, and so he questioned the 434/3 date assigned to the Kallias decrees. The short forms do occur, however, in the Praxiergidiae and Phaselis decrees both dated to c. 450. So, in fact, the forms of the first declension dative plural do not offer much help for more precise dating. We would do well to remember Threatte's (p. 15) comment on the "essentially conservative nature of the written word generally, and of the language of stone inscriptions from Athens, especially formal public documents, in particular."

[6] A. Wilhelm, "Inschrift aus Athen," *JOEAI* 6 (1903) 15. See above, pp. 47-49.

stressing these comparisons of Wilhelm's, suggested that in their opinion a date as early as the mid-430s is possible.[7]

How early then can we reasonably date the decree? Phrased differently, we might ask whether we should link the decree with Pericles' Panhellenic Congress, as many scholars have proposed. A brief review of the question of the Panhellenic Congress is in order. The only mention of this Congress occurs in Plutarch's life of Pericles (17) where it is cited as an example of Pericles' foresight and greatness of mind (τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην). Hoping to lift up the expectations of the Athenian people, Pericles introduced a plan to assemble all Greeks for the purpose of discussing the rebuilding of the temples burned by the Persians, the offering of sacrifices vowed during the Persian war and the maintenance of peace on the sea (ἐπαίρων ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα). Plutarch's expression for Pericles' proposal of the congress (γράφει ψήφισμα) as well as the detail involved in his description of the number of heralds sent out, their ages and the routes they were to follow indicate an epigraphical source.[8] Nonetheless, the authenticity of Plutarch's report has been questioned; in particular, the inclusion of the freedom of the seas is an idea which some critics maintain is one not common in the fifth century, but which suggests a fourth century context, especially when Philip was threatening Athenian control of the sea. Plutarch also refers to maintenance of a specific peace (τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν), which some find questionable as a reference to the peace of Kallias, which was an agreement, rather than a formal treaty, between Persia and Athens and her allies. Elsewhere Plutarch terms this common effort which Pericles hoped all Greeks would undertake as κοινοπραγία. This has been termed too rhetorical for an inscription and more suitable to the hypothesis that the Panhellenic Congress was invented as propaganda in the fourth century.[9]

Meiggs answered these objections successfully: he asked why, if this Panhellenic Congress was invented to be used as propaganda by the orators of the fourth century, we hear no mention of it from them. The value as

[7] Meiggs-Lewis, no. 73. See above, p. 68.

[8] R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1973) 512-15. An argument based on the age of the envoys, men over 50 years, has recently been advanced in favor of the authenticity of the Congress Decree by G.T. Griffiths ("A Note on Plutarch *Pericles* 17," *Historia* 27 (1978) 218-19). The "over 50" provision was one seldom used, but a parallel can be found in the Methone Embassy (IG I^3 61.17), also Periclean in date. If this detail is not a sign of the decree's authenticity, the fourth century forger was a real master.

[9] The arguments against are advanced by R. Seager, *Historia* 18 (1969) 39-40, but are summarized in Meiggs *(supra*, n. 8) Appendix 10D, 512-15, where a discussion of the Congress Decree can be found.

propaganda of a failed attempt at panhellenism by Pericles is even more questionable. "Even the best of orators would not be able to make much capital from a rejected scheme, and if the decree was invented for the benefit of the anti-Macedonian orators why do we hear nothing about it in the orators?"[10] More recently, MacDonald[11] has offered very convincing answers to Seager's objections. Regarding the issue of freedom of the seas, a matter not appropriate for the fifth century according to Seager, MacDonald pointed out that the decree itself makes no mention of piracy or its elimination. The maintenance of the Athenian navy was motivated by a more vital and immediate concern. "Only through an active navy could the Greeks prevent Persian violation, and it follows that, even after the Peace of Kallias, the Athenian fleet had to be maintained simply to guarantee Persian compliance. In calling the Congress, Pericles sought to emphasize this need to keep the Aegean a Greek sea, and thus maintain the peace, and it was for this reason he made a claim for continued support of the Athenian fleet." [12]

MacDonald disputed Seager's contention that the phrase τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν refers to a common peace. On the contrary, the Peace of Kallias had none of the features of the *koine eirene* characteristic of the fourth century, that is a multilateral peace which required that all Greek states be free and autonomous, and which was intended to promote a general state of peace. Rather, the Peace of Kallias was characteristic of fifth century diplomacy "on which the major states made bilateral agreements with the expectation that lesser states would acquiesce."

Finally, and of more significance for our purposes, the Congress decree was not intended "to serve as a basis for a programme of harmonious and peaceful cooperation," as Seager suggested. MacDonald is surely correct in recognizing that with Athens sending heralds throughout the Greek world from a superior position, "other states, by attending the Congress and considering the proposed agenda, would be acknowledging the leadership role that Pericles

[10] Meiggs (*supra*, n. 8) 514.

[11] Brian R. MacDonald, "The Authenticity of the Congress Decree," *Historia* 31 (1982) 120-23. See also Philip Stadter, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill 1989) 17 (see pp. 201-09), for a review of the arguments against the authenticity of the Congress decree, arguments which he remarked "do not bear close scrutiny."

[12] As Stadter ((*supra*, n. 11) 151) in commenting on the peace noted: "Any agreement between the Athenian League and Persia was likely to be more of an armed truce than a real peace. Whether a formal peace was signed or not, it was necessary for Athens to maintain a large force both to protect the Aegean from the Persians and to insure the stability of her own financial and political power."

envisioned for Athens. This was the purpose of the Congress."[13]

Yet, even if we assume the authenticity of Plutarch's account, the date of this Panhellenic Congress remains problematic for those who wish to link the First-fruits decree with it. Lacking the Congress decree itself, we have to rely on Plutarch for its date. Plutarch sets the call for the Congress at a time of increasing Spartan anxiety about the growth of Athenian power (Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄχθεσθαι τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων),[14] ultimately the reason for its failure. This could place it sometime before the First Peloponnesian War, c. 460, the date accepted by Wilamowitz. Better historical sense can be found if the Congress Decree is put after the conclusion of peace with Persia, at a time when Athens might have looked for further justification for the Delian league. Such is the basis for the date of 449 which Meiggs proposed or (more generally) the early forties suggested by Wade-Gery.[15] Recent efforts have argued for placing the peace immediately after Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon, c. 468.[16]

Pericles' Panhellenic Congress, then, presents us with a dilemma in dating the First-Fruits decree: can we say any more about the context or meaning of the First-Fruits decree by linking it to an unpreserved decree lacking a firm date? The scholars who first proposed a date for the First-fruits decree, assuming its connection with the Panhellenic Congress, suggested a date c. 445. While this is the earliest date acceptable according to the standard epigraphical interpretation of the four-barred sigma, there seems to be no particular reason for dating the Panhellenic Congress to 445. Moreover, if Pericles' proposal for a Panhellenic Congress was made in 460, as some interpret the context supplied by Plutarch, or the early forties, on the basis of historical context, should the

[13] *Cf.* Stadter ((*supra*, n. 11) 203) who disagreed with Ward-Gery that the decree was principally a financial document. "The emphasis in P. [Plutarch], however, is broader and I believe more correct: Athens wished to lead Greece in common action (κοινοπραγία) and was asserting for herself a hegemonic role that Sparta could not accept."

[14] Stadter's commentary ((*supra*, n. 11) 204) notes here (17.1) that "such vaguely temporal introductions to anecdotes illustrating character are common in P."

[15] J. B. Bury and R. Meiggs, *History of Greece*, 4th ed. (New York 1975) 222 and H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Question of Tribute in 449/8 B.C.," *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 223.

[16] See Stadter's commentary on Plutarch's *Pericles* 12.2 ((*supra*, n. 11) 150-151) wherein are cited M. Sordi's Review of *The Athenian Empire* by R. Meiggs, *Athenaeum* 51 (1973) 416-19; J. Walsh, "The Authenticity and The Dates of the Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree," *Chiron* 11 (1981) 31-63; and E. Badian, "The Peace of Kallias," *JHS* 107 (1987) 1-39. Stadter found these arguments for an early date convincing. Equally interesting is his observation that Plutarch's omission of any discussion of the peace from *Pericles*, when he had defended the peace in *Cimon*, could be because Plutarch considered the peace an example of Cimonian, not Periclean, action.

date of the First-fruits decree be moved to agree with either of those dates? And if so, which is the better date?

Stadter has suggested that a *terminus ante quem* of 447 is given by the reference in the Congress decree to the rebuilding of the temples as one of the subjects to be discussed (βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι). Once the work on the Parthenon was begun, this would no longer have been a subject for discussion. Similarly Stadter considered the Peace of Kallias a *terminus post quem*, either the 460s or 449. His conclusion is that: "This decree should probably be dated not long after the peace, but P.'s [Plutarch's] vague dating formula does not permit us to go beyond that."[17]

Rather than attempting to date both the Congress decree and the First-fruits decree to the same year, it seems preferable to regard them as different expressions of the same Periclean policy to promote panhellenism, or common action (κοινοπραγία) under Athenian leadership. There is neither need nor reason to cluster these events within the same year. On the contrary, we can see them as indications of a coherent and consistent policy pursued by Pericles throughout the period of his leadership of Athens. Yet another manifestation of this policy is the foundation of Thurii in 446 or 444. Here, at the invitation of the Sybarites, Pericles was able to send out a colony which was to be "Athenian in its leadership and Panhellenic in its composition"[18] and which might extend Athenian influence in the West more effectively than any treaty or alliance.

More significant for a comparison with the First-fruits decree is the importance of the role in the colonization effort played by Lampon, who sometimes appears as the only οἰκιστής of Thurii, and what this implied of Periclean policy. As a patriot and adherent of Pericles' policy, Lampon was probably "delighted to bring his city as well as his own person into the limelight of the great enterprise by the gods."[19] Ehrenberg further postulated that "Pericles' temples and statues of the gods, although they might not satisfy the more old-fashioned among the pious, were a tribute to the greatness of the gods of Athens, and a man like Lampon was bound to appreciate that."[20] Consider the range of participants in the colonization of Thurii—the architect and city-planner Hippodamus of Miletus, the Sophist Protagoras, Herodotus and the

[17] Stadter (*supra*, n. 11) 202. But if we accept a date of c. 468 for the Peace of Callias, then a date near that for the First-fruits decree would put a decree with a four-barred sigma 20 years earlier than the currently (epigraphically) acceptable date of 445.

[18] V. Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *AJP* 69 (1948) 119.

[19] *Ibid* 125.

[20] *Ibid* 126.

"exegete" Lampon.[21] Lampon's prominence in the foundation of Thurii can then be seen as a reflection of Pericles' awareness of the importance of orthodox religious support for his efforts at Athenian imperialism through panhellenism.

The whole thrust of the First-fruits decree calling for the panhellenic recognition of Demeter and Kore accords well not only with the imperialistic tenor of the Congress decree and the foundation of Thurii but also with the strong religious emphasis present in both. All three efforts should be seen as expressions of Periclean policy of the forties and possibly early- to mid-thirties, a fifteen year period in which the evidence suggests Pericles made several attempts to assert Athens' hegemony on a panhellenic level.

A date much later than the mid-thirties is ruled out by the probable *terminus ante quem* of 432, (the most likely date of IG I^3 32 [see Chapter Two]) when, with the creation of the epistatai, the hieropoioi are no longer solely in control of the administration of the sanctuary and aparche. We may now test this *terminus ante quem*, which was arrived at solely by consideration of the date of IG I^3 32 and the relation of this document to the First-fruits decree, by checking to see if a date during the Archidamian War would be reasonable for the First-fruits decree, given that we have excluded a date after 423/2 (i.e., during the period covered by IG I^3 391). (See above, pp. 78-79.) As we saw in our discussion of the scholarship on IG I^3 78, Prott-Ziehen were the first to suggest that IG I^3 391 provided a *terminus ante quem*, though not perhaps for the best reason. They dated the decree, therefore, to 423, during the armistice between Athens and Sparta. Körte immediately rejected 423 with the contention that the armistice did not really represent peace. The revolt of Mende and Skione in the north, Thebes' action against Thespiae, and the fighting between Mantinea and Tegea all support his objection. Although 423 is unsuitable, perhaps another date could be found during the Archidamian war which might be more suitable.

Convinced that the aparche inscription belonged before the epistatai's first records (IG I^3 391), Guarducci suggested 424 as a more appropriate date. The Athenians' success at Pylos and Sphacteria had certainly raised the hope that an end to the war was forthcoming. Meritt, however, rejected 424 with the assertion that it and the following year were most certainly ordinary years. "From the logistai-inscription also it is clear that a payment was made in the first prytany of 424/3 on the 26th day of the prytany to the hellenotamiai of 'last year,' that is, before the Panathenaic festival of Hekatombaion 28. This payment came 705 days before the end of the conciliar quadrennium in 422, and can only have been made before the Panathenaia if 424/3 and 423/2 were both

[21] On Lampon's religious role see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950) 26-28.

ordinary."[22] Unless we are willing to contend that Lampon's proposal for the intercalation of an extra Hekatombaion was never carried out, we must look for another date. The more fundamental question remains: can the First-fruits decree be dated to the years of the Archidamian war?

The decree itself seems to answer in the negative. One of its provisions concerns the implementation of the decree as quickly as possible: [κέρ]υ[κα]ς δὲ hελομένε hε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλλον[τ]ας [τὰ νῦν] hεφσεφισμένα τôι δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἐναι hος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]οιπὸν hόταν δοκêι αὐτêι (lines 21-24). It is this provision, along with the decree's generally panhellenic character, which seems most unsuitable to a time of war. The Boule is to extend an invitation to all Greek cities to join in the offering of first-fruits just as Athens and her allies are going to do: ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τêσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν [τ]ê[σι] hε[λ]λενικêσιν ἁπάσεσι, hόποι ἂν δοκêι αὐτêι δυνατὸν ἐναι λ[έγο]ντας μὲν κατὰ hὰ Ἀθεναîοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[νοις] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονται, [κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφôν (lines 30-34). It is difficult to imagine such a general call for the offering of the aparche being made during a period of war between the Greek states. Is it conceivable that Megara, for example, could have been included in this general invitation, once Athens had begun to ravage her land twice a year?[23] Some scholars have sought to answer this objection by asserting that the phrase hόποι ἂν δοκêι αὐτêι δυνατὸν ἐναι might have excluded all city-states with which Athens was at war. Such an interpretation virtually destroys the universal character of the invitation (πόλεσιν τêσι hελλενικêσιν ἁπάσεσι). This would so seriously undercut what is otherwise a perfectly clear and serious intention as to make it rather a joke. The more sensible interpretation of the phrase is that it allows the Boule to send heralds at this time to as many Greek cities as possible in haste, within a very brief span of time.

Another argument against the early years of the Archidamian war is suggested by the emphasis placed on the authority of the Delphic oracle in sanctioning this regulation and expansion of the offering of the first-fruits to Demeter and Kore. Three times in the main body of the decree the oracle is mentioned in conjunction with ancestral custom as the basis for this call for the aparche (lines 4-5, 26, 34). This repeated emphasis on Delphi has prompted some scholars, including more recently Fontenrose, to suppose that a particular

[22] B. D. Meritt, "First-Fruits at Eleusis," *CW* 56 (1962) 40.

[23] Meritt pointed this out with regard to Guarducci's date (see above, p. 64).

oracle given at Delphi occasioned this First-fruits decree.[24]

Fontenrose classified this oracle as an historical response (H9) to be distinguished from an earlier quasi-historical response (Q79). He disputed Parke and Wormell's assessment that the oracle cited in IG I^3 78 is no more than "fresh oracular authority for the custom" of offering first-fruits; for the earlier oracular response calls for the offering of pre-plowing sacrifices (*proerosia*), not first-fruits. Most accounts of the earlier response, moreover, do not specify Demeter and Kore as the deities in question. While the Suda and Scholiast do name Demeter, this is Demeter Proerosia, goddess of the city who presides over the Proerosia, not the Demeter who, with Kore, presides over the first-fruits and the Mysteries.[25]

On the issue of Delphi's tenor towards Athens, Fontenrose doubted that Greek states were much influenced by Delphi, noting that the oracle simply provided confirmation to Sparta's previously determined intent to go to war with Athens, for example.[26] But Thucydides' report of the oracle's response to the Spartans asking if they should go to war (ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος (1.118.3)) implies much more than mere confirmation. Delphi also sanctioned in 426 B.C. the foundation of a colony at Heraklea in Trachinia.[27] Strategically located to control movement north and close to Euboea the colony was open only to Dorians, which thereby excluded Athenian participation. In the following year, the Peloponnesian force gathered at Delphi (ξυλλεγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς Δελφούς) in preparation for

[24] Schmidt rejected this suggestion, put forth originally by Foucart (*BCH* 4 (1880) 225-50), citing Isocrates (*Panegy.* 31) and the Suda (Εἰρεσιώνη) who referred to the oracle as παλαιὰ εὐεργασία and παλαιὸς χρησμός respectively. He further dated the oracle to the 53rd Olympiad, between 568-564. Among other arguments, Schmidt cited the timidity of the general invitation to all Greeks to participate in the offering of the aparche as unlikely for this period; Pericles' expulsion of the Delphians in 447 in the Sacred War is also cited as evidence against a recent oracle. Similarly, Schmidt interpreted the phrase κατὰ ταὐτά to indicate that aparche is to be offered in the same manner as it had been in the preceding century. See A. Schmidt, "Das Eleusinische Steuerdecret aus der Höhezeit des Pericles," *JKP* 131 (1885) 688-90 for a complete discussion of his objections, now countered by Fontenrose.

[25] Parke and Wormell clearly viewed Q79 as the original Delphic sanction for the offering of the first-fruits, a view precluded not by its date but now by the arguments advanced by Fontenrose. Fontenrose also noted that H9 is addressed to a more limited audience (the Athenians and their league) whereas the quasi-historical Q79 is addressed to all Hellenes, even all mankind, who are suffering from a worldwide famine. See Joseph Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 294-95, for a complete discussion of the quasi-historical response.

[26] Fontenrose (*supra*, n. 25) 239.

[27] *Ibid* 245-46.

its attack on Naupactus (Thuc. 3.101).[28] If Peloponnesian forces were meeting at Delphi, how free was Athens' access to the oracle during the Archidamian war?

The provisions of the truce of 423 suggest that access to the Delphic oracle was a concern.[29] Concern for the neutrality of Delphi as a religious sanctuary was strong also at the time of the peace of Nicias. Freedom of access to all common shrines is stated as a provision of the peace, but Delphi's autonomy is mentioned specifically.[30] Fontenrose has noted that the Greek states valued Delphi's approval for their enterprises and laws, cult laws and institutions especially. Thus Delphi's sanctioning of the call for first-fruits to be offered to Demeter and Kore would have been important to Athens. And while Athens may not have been excluded from access to the sanctuary and the oracle at Delphi during the course of the Archidamian war, the suitability of the decree with its reliance on the Delphic oracle (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν ἐγ Δελφôν) to this period is highly questionable.

Thus, historically, the decade of the 430s in fact suits well the *terminus ante quem* derived from IG I^3 32. Lampon's role as exegete in the colonization of Thurii makes the period of the late 440s improbable for any activity for him in Athens. Two of the documents with which Wilhelm compared the decree are now dated in the mid to late 430s: the Corcyraean expedition accounts (IG I^3 364) and the so-called Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52), now generally assigned to 434/3.

Further, the arguments advanced in Chapter Two above make a date before 432 B.C. unlikely for IG I^3 32, the decree creating the epistatai. The comparison of this newly created board of epistatai to those who used to be in charge of the Parthenon and the chryselephantine statue of Athena (hοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν] τôι νεôι καὶ τôι ἀ[γ]άλματι), who were in existence from 446 until 433/2, and the use of the imperfect (ἐπεστάτον), indicating that this board had ceased to function, makes a date of 432 most probable for IG I^3 32. Thus the early- to mid-430s becomes the most probable time for the First-fruits decree.

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[28] H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle I The History* (Oxford 1956) 191-92.

[29] Περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου δοκεῖ ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδόλως καὶ ἀδεῶς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους. τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτα δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς παροῦσιν (Thuc. 4.118).

[30] τὸ δ' ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δελφοὺς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἑαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (Thuc. 5.18.2). Free access is guaranteed to Athens and others here, yet Parke and Wormell (*(supra*, n. 28) 195-96) interpreted the clause concerning Delphic autonomy as a warning to Athens to refrain from interfering with the control of the sanctuary as she had done in the Sacred Wars around mid-century.

Of great importance for Athens were the political implications of the decree. Since the offering of the first-fruits constituted, essentially, a recognition of Demeter's beneficence in sharing the gift of grain, and hence civilization, with the Greek world, Athens stood to gain a great deal from its regulation and extension. We might then ask if the First-fruits decree can be seen largely as an effort at "l'imperialisme pacifique" (as Cloché termed it) which belongs to the years before the war? This certainly seems a reasonable interpretation of the decree, but it does not provide us with one specific year which is more appropriate than another. Tentatively, c. 435 might be suggested, since it is close in time to the two epigraphic parallels cited by Wilhelm.

One further possible indication of date provided by the decree itself remains: Lampon's amendment concerning the Pelargikon. A discussion of the relationship of each provision in Lampon's rider to the main body of the decree will not be attempted here. Only the connection between Lampon's amendment and the state of the Pelargikon described by Thucydides merits further discussion. Lampon first calls upon the basileus to define the sacred areas/shrines (τὰ ιερά) in the Pelargikon; then he enjoins the establishment of altars and the cutting and removal of rock and earth there in the future without the consent of both the Boule and Demos. A fine of 500 drachmas is prescribed for any transgression of these measures.

The connection between these measures proposed by Lampon and the description by Thucydides (2.17) of the sorry state of the Pelargikon at the outset of the war has, of course, not gone unnoticed. Guarducci (**no. 45**) associated the two as further evidence in favor of her date of 424. She thought the victory at Pylos and Sphacteria would have allowed the Athenians the security and time to correct the violations of the Pelargikon which had occurred. Accame (**no. 40**), likewise, underscored the connection, but contended that the Athenians would only have had time to consider the state of their sanctuaries after the conclusion of the peace of Nicias in 421. A single difficulty applies to both arguments: if the date of Lampon's rider is dissociated from the occupation of the Pelargikon at the beginning of the Archidamian war described by Thucydides, it is difficult to know which of the dates proposed is more appropriate. Perhaps we should ask first whether it is reasonable to place the amendment, according to its own terms, before or after the beginning of the Archidamian war and the influx of Athenians into the city.

Let us first consider Thucydides' description in detail. Near the beginning of Book II, Thucydides describes the movement from the countryside into the city in anticipation of the onset of the war and Spartan incursions into Attica. The Athenians did not bear their displacement well. Once in the city, the situation was worse since many had nowhere to go. ἐπειδή τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ

τὰ ἠρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον 'ὡς τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη (2.17). Despite an oracle forbidding its occupation or use, we learn that the area known as the Pelargikon, located beneath the Acropolis, was occupied by those displaced into the city at the beginning of the war.

We must ask to what period, before or after the situation described by Thucydides, the measures proposed by Lampon are appropriate. Any specific mention of the occupation of the Pelargikon or the presence there of any refugees is absent from the amendment. Rather, Lampon proposes that the sacred areas within the area of the Pelargikon be defined, that, in the future, altars without the authorization of the Boule and Demos be prevented from being established and that no more rock or earth be removed. If these measures follow the occupation of the Pelargikon, then it seems that the presence of those already encamped there has been accepted and Lampon is seeking only to avert further violation and occupation of the area, and that in a rather oblique manner. If the interpretation of Lampon's amendment as an effort to correct the situation described by Thucydides seems improbable, we might alternately consider the measures proposed as an effort to protect the area of the Pelargikon before the start of the Archidamian war and before its violation in any major way. If Nenci (**no. 63**) is correct in his belief that the Pelargikon could and did serve to accommodate those in need of refuge prior to, but not in, the fifth century, the definition of the sacred areas within the Pelargikon (τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα horίσαι τὰ hιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ô]ι Πελαργικôι) could be understood within this context. We know that the Eleusinion in Athens, for example, may have been protected against violation by additional work on its temenos walls (IG I^3 50). Preparations to demarcate and preserve the sacred areas within the Pelargikon, such as Lampon proposed, would reflect a concern similar to that prompting work on the Eleusinion. Camp has suggested that one of the main functions of the Pelargikon was to ensure a secure source of water for the citadel, at least through the sixth century.[31] Concern for the water supply might also have led to work in the area of the Pelargikon before the war.

Alternatively, the provision against the cutting of stone and the removal of stone or earth might suggest that these materials were being sought, or would be sought, for use in constructing religious structures such as altars within or bordering on the area of the Pelargikon, for example those which have been

[31] John McK. Camp, "Water and the Pelargikon," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday, GRBS* 10 (1984) 37-41.

found on the North Slope of the Acropolis.[32] We know from a third century B.C. papyrus from Fayoum that altars were hastily constructed before doors and on terraces to avoid the necessity of garrisoning the soldiers during the rule of Ptolemy Euergetes. Once the altars were constructed, it became a difficult and impious task to remove them.[33] Sokolowski has argued, by extension, that refugees had taken over areas of the Pelargikon and then constructed altars to avoid eviction.[34] However, the general nature of the measures proposed by Lampon do not seem to be aimed at a Pelargikon overrun with refugees seeking a place to stay during the war, although they might fit with more general measures taken in advance of the war.

Another alternative is to associate Lampon's amendment with Mnesicles' Propylaia, constructed from 437-432. The extent to which the design planned by Mnesicles was executed is an issue scholars continue to debate. The question which concerns us, however, is the relationship of the Propylaia and the Pelasgian wall, in particular the East wings of Mnesicles' Propylaia and the Pelasgian wall. One has only to look at the East facade of the Propylaia to note the asymmetry of the design North to South.[35] Bundgaard concluded from the upper courses and orthostates that the wing for the north side was intended to stretch to the edge of the rock, approximately twenty-four meters. "On the south side the dividing-wall stretches only as far as the corresponding west wing, and its corner has been obliquely cut off, from the bottom course to the geison block inclusive, in accordance with the Pelasgian wall, which it fitted closely." In other words, no continuation of this wall to the south was ever intended.[36]

Mnesicles' respect for the venerable Pelasgian wall seems only natural. The builders of the older Propylon determined the level of their frontal stylobate (143.38) by the level of the west facade of the Pelasgian wall, and so one corner of the stylobate was actually cut into the rock. Mnesicles, on the other hand,

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[32] See O. Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 329-417 and 4 (1935) 109-88, for a detailed discussion.

[33] L. Robert, "Sur un decret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernent des cultes royaux," *American Journal of Papyrology* 1 (1966) 187-88.

[34] F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrés des Cités Grecques* (Paris 1969) 11.

[35] See J. A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles* (Stockholm 1957) 77-81. Consider D 1 d to E 2 B (North) and compare with F 3 c to E 4 b (South). While it is apparent that the two wings are to have the same cross-section, a look at the foundation of the dividing walls shows that they were never intended to have the same length. The foundation of the north dividing wall (D I d) was carried right out to the edge of the rock.

[36] In Bundgaard's (*Ibid* 78) words: "It can be said with confidence that it was not Mnesicles' intention that it should ever be continued to the south. He assumed from the first that the Pelasgian wall would remain untouched as far into the future as he could visualize."

calculated his building on the same level, taking over the euthynteria level as well as the level of the floor behind the west facade from the Old Propylon.[37] Could such careful regard for the Pelasgian wall in the construction of the Propylaia possibly be attributed to Lampon's amendment to the First-fruits decree? If it predates the beginning of the construction of the Propylaia in 437, the amendment could be seen as an effort by a religiously conservative Lampon to guard against encroachment of the Pelasgian wall by Mnesicles' building plan. While this does not explain the prohibition against altars there in the future, it does suggest an explanation for Lampon's call for the defining of *hiera* in the Pelargikon as well as prohibiting the cutting and removal of rock and earth.

We are still without a precise date for IG I^3 78. Our argument has shown, however, that IG I^3 32 is a very probable *terminus ante quem*. A date prior to 432 is also suggested by the absence of the archon's name from the inscription. Given the panhellenic nature of the call for offering of first-fruits and the similarity in its intent to the Congress decree and the colonization of Thurii, the First-fruits decree appears to be another expression of this same Periclean policy. Lampon's involvement with both the colonization of Thurii in the 440s and the First-fruits decree suggests that the 430s would not be inappropriate. Although the paucity of evidence does not permit a precise date, a year in the vicinity of 435 seems to fit best with the state of our evidence.

This chronology certainly solves some problems in the history of the sanctuary's administration. At the time of IG I^3 78 we see the hieropoioi continuing to function as general administrators of the sanctuary in the same capacity in which they appear in IG I^3 6. Their prominence as general administrators allows an easier answer to Bannier's[38] (**no. 25**) objection that no mention is made of what is to be done with funds left over after the sale of the first-fruits. First, if the hieropoioi are still the sole financial administrators of the sanctuary, including, of course, the aparche, there would be less need for specifying what was to be done with any surplus after dedications. Secondly, (and the more likely explanation), the decree implies that the money accruing from the sale of unnecessary grain is to be used for dedications exclusively, since no other purposes are there authorized: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀποδομένος τὸς hιεροποιὸς μετὰ τêς βολêς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέναι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος hάττ' ἂν τôι δέμοι τôι 'Αθεναίον δοκêι (IG I^3 78.40–43). In this operation the hieropoioi, though they must consult the Boule and follow the wishes of the Demos, are given primary authority, which is

[37] *Ibid* 83, 190, nn. 29 and 33.

[38] W. Bannier, "Zum Neuen Ersten Bande der Attischen Inschriften," *RhM* 77 (1928) 268-69.

consistent with their position in IG I^3 6. The hieropoioi's transfer of funds derived from the sale of the aparche to the epistatai documented in IG I^3 391 not only reflects a change in the administration of the aparche since the time of IG I^3 78 but may also indicate that from some point in the 420s dedications were no longer being made from the aparche.

We may now suggest the following outline of the history of Eleusinian finances and financial officials in the fifth century:

Ca. 460 B.C. (IG I^3 6): The hieropoioi are the sole officials in charge of the funds of the Two Goddesses (except for a small part administered by the priestess of Demeter).

Ca. 435 B.C. (IG I^3 78): The hieropoioi still enjoy this role, though the document of course is concerned chiefly with the aparche. Whatever money remains after they sell the aparche and pay the costs of sacrifice, they use for dedications. No provision is made for a surplus. Their responsibility for construction of additional warehouses, including the necessary expenditures from the general treasury, allow us to infer their general control of the sanctuary.

432 B.C. (IG I^3 32): The epistatai are created as the primary administrators of the secular matters of the sanctuary, financial and otherwise. The hieropoioi still have some authority, but it is limited; they are supervised by the epistatai.

422–418 B.C. (IG I^3 391): The hieropoioi turn over to the epistatai the proceeds from the aparche. This shows the effect of IG I^3 32 on the administration of the aparche. The aparche is evidently still received by the hieropoioi; they must be the ones who sell it and use the proceeds for the sacrifices. They turn over the small amounts remaining to the epistatai. (Dedications were probably not made, for when they were made, in accordance with IG I^3 78, *all* of the remaining funds from the aparche were allocated for this purpose; nothing was intended to be left over.) The year 422/1 probably marks (or comes soon after) the resumption of the collection of the aparche, which was most likely suspended early in the Archidamian War.

408/7 B.C. (IG I^3 386–387; see new text below, Part II): The epistatai issue an account-inventory which reflects the circumstances of the Decelean War. There is no mention of the hieropoioi. No aparche is collected, obviously because of the war (see above, p. 76). Money from the aparche is kept on the Acropolis; this must be aparche from prior years, such as 422–418 (and probably the following few years). The hieropoioi of Eleusis may not have survived these difficult years when, in the absence of the aparche, there must have been

scarcely any need for their service.

When we next get a glimpse of the administration of the aparche, it is in the year 329/8 (IG II^2 1672), and we see that now some of the older functions of the hieropoioi of Eleusis have been taken over by a new board of hieropoioi, ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς. The aparche is received not by the hieropoioi but by the epistatai. The epistatai have clearly assumed virtually complete control of this institution. The hieropoioi receive money from the epistatai (from their sale of the aparche) for sacrifices (lines 288–289, 295) and dedication (ἀνάθημα τοῖν θεοῖν, lines 299–300). As in IG I^3 78 there is no surplus left after the making of the dedications.

With the First-fruits decree now placed in the decade of the 430s we have gained something very special: a document testifying to Athens', and Pericles', efforts to remind the Greek world that when Demeter gave Athens double gifts—the fruits of the earth and the Mysteries, of which the former allows a life better than that lived by animals (τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν); the latter allows a life of sweeter hope now and for eternity (περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν)—Athens was not only reverent (θεοφιλῶς) but also generous (φιλανθρώπως) in sharing these gifts with the rest of the world. Such a reminder served not only to justify Athens' hegemony but also served to link her allies, and the Greek world, more closely to her. That many cities sent first-fruits as a remembrance of Athens' beneficence, with those who did not often commanded to do so by the Pythia, is attested by Isocrates (*Panegyr.* 31): αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι.

By recognizing the debt owed to Demeter and Athens, the allies and all Greek cities who joined in the offering of first-fruits would thus be acknowledging Athens' hegemony in the years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. For this period we have few documents and the epigraphic evidence is crucial to the picture we are able to form. Such measures as the Coinage Decree and the regulation requiring allies to bring offerings to the Greater Panathenaea are also expressions of this same movement towards the recognition of Athens' dominant role in the Greek world. The offering of first-fruits to the Eleusinian, indeed Athenian, Demeter in recognition of her gift of grain, and thus civilization, would indeed contribute to Pericles' assessment, and, more importantly, the Greek world's acknowledgment, of Athens as the educator of Greece: Ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι (Thuc. 2.41.1). As Pericles asserted in Thucydides account, Athens had no need of a Homer, for the world stood as testament to her daring: καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις

ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ᾽ ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν ἀίδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες (2.41.4).

PART II

IG I^3 386–387

CHAPTER FIVE

A NEW TEXT OF IG I^3 386–387

The text of the inscription as it is arrayed on the stone appears as a fold-out at the end of this volume.

Description

Fourteen fragments of a fine-grained white ("Pentelic") marble stele engraved on both sides were found in Eleusis by D. Philios and subsequently published by him in 1888 and 1894. Thirteen of these fragments, lost since ca. 1940, were rediscovered by K. Clinton in a storeroom at Eleusis in 1975. The fourteenth fragment was rediscovered in 1980. The fragments (Inv. No. E 1064), stored in the *Epigraphikon* at Eleusis since their rediscovery, have since been rejoined by the Greek Archaeological Service (summer 1982). I examined the stone at various times from 1978 through 1980.

Most of the surface of the face which preserves IG I^3 386 is in good condition and so there are few difficulties in reading the preserved letters there. The opposite side (IG I^3 387) is much more severely worn.

The original height of the stele, given by continuous physical joins from top to bottom, is 0.973 m. The width can be determined with virtual certainty by the spacing of the three columns in which the text is disposed and the necessary restorations in the three line prescript, and appears to have been 0.913 m at the top of the stele. All fragments preserve the original thickness, which varies from 0.069 m to 0.074 m from top to bottom. The inscription is stoichedon. The height of the letters varies from 0.0065 m to 0.009 m. The horizontal unit of the stoichos is 0.0090 m and the vertical unit 0.0133 m for IG I^3 386 and 0.00922 m by 0.0137 m for I^3 387.

The fragments, measured individually, are as follows:

Fragment A (maximum height 0.405 m; width 0.245 m; thickness 0.074 m) preserves the original top and left surface.

Fragment B (ht. 0.40 m; w. 0.332 m) preserves the original left edge and

bottom surface with a roughened band c. 0.09 m high on its face for setting in its original bedding with lead.
Fragment C (ht. 0.245 m; w. 0.467 m) preserves the original top and right edge.

Fragment D (ht. 0.113 m; w. 0.13 m) joins fragment C below and to the left but preserves only its original inscribed faces.

Fragment E (ht. 0.15 m; w. 0.19 m) is broken on all sides but joins the bottom of fragment D and the left edge of fragment G2.

Fragment E1 (ht. 0.12-0.123 m; w. 0.133 m; th. 0.071 m) joins fragment E below and to the left and was the last of the fragments to be rediscovered.

Fragment F (ht. 0.468 m; w. 0.38 m) is composed of three joining fragments, the lowest of which (F3) preserves the original bottom surface and a continuation of the roughened band of fragment B, and at its upper right, fragments F2 and F3 join fragment G3.

Fragment G (ht. 0.431 m; w. 0.211 m) is composed of three joining fragments broken on all sides but joining fragment C above (G1), fragment E to the left (G2), and fragment F below (F1 and F2) and fragment H to the right (H1).

Fragment H (ht. 0.16 m; w. 0.25 m; th. 0.07 m) is composed of two joining fragments, one of which (H2) preserves the original right edge of the stele, while the other, broken on all sides, joins fragment G3 to the left.

TEXTS

1. D. Philios, "ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΕΞ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΟΣ," *ArchEph* (1888) 48–58; tables: 42, 43.
2. D. Philios, "ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΕΞ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΟΣ," *AM* 19 (1894) 191-193, Beilage I–II.
3. S. Dragoumis, "ΑΤΤΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΛΗ ΕΝ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙ," *ArchEph* (1895) 61-72 (drawings).
4. E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siecle: Le Trésor Sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'en 404* (Versailles 1908) 26–44.
5. W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden aus dem V. Jahrhundert* (Dissertation, Marburg 1914).
6. A. Kirchhoff, J. Kirchner, IG Is pp. 168–173, 225 c.d.e.f.
7. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen, I^2 313-314, and page 304.
8. D. M. Lewis, IG I^3 386–387.

DISCUSSIONS and RESTORATIONS

1. W. Bannier, "Mitteilungen zu attischen Inschriften XV," *PhW* 47 (1927) 667–671.

2. W. Kolbe, Review of Otto Walter's *Führer durch Griechenland*, *PhW* 51 (1931) 71–83.

3. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge 1932) 27, n.1.

4. B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (Ann Arbor 1932) 29.

5. B. D. Meritt, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *AJP* 69 (1948) 69–73.

6. B. D. Meritt, "The Prytanies of 408/7 B.C.," *ArchCl* 25-26 (1973-74) 432-39.

7. T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions*, *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* 62 (Meisenheim am Glan 1975) 25–32.

8. D. M. Lewis, "New Evidence for the Gold–Silver Ratio," in *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*. Eds. C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins (Oxford 1968) 105–110.

9. D. M. Lewis and A. M. Woodward, "A Transfer from Eleusis," *BSA* 70 (1975) 183–189.

10. W. E. Thompson, "Phialai from Eleusis," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 211–212.

11. T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Demolished Temple at Eleusis," *Hesperia Supplement* 20 (1982) 128–140.

12. K. Clinton, "Eleusinian Treasures in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday, GRBS* 10 (1984) 51–60.

13. K. Clinton, "The Date of the Classical Telesterion," ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ *Studies Presented to George Mylonas 2* (Athens 1987) 254–262.

14. W. Habermann, "IG I³ 386–387, sizilische Haüte und die Athenisch-sizilischen Handelsbeziehungen im 5 Jahrh. v. Chr.," *MBAH* 6,1 (1987) 89–113.

Readings and Restorations

Read and restored by Philios, Dragoumis and Sardemann as in the latter's edition. The present apparatus includes only significant readings and restorations that I have retained or are otherwise significant.
Ph= Philios (1888); Ph 1894= Philios; 1894 D= Dragoumis; C= Cavaignac; S= Sardemann; M= Meritt; H= Hiller (IG I^2); L= Lewis (IG I^3).

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3 ⁖ H, L ‖ 10 Κυζικηνοὺς στα[τῆρας] C, S; σστα[τῆρες H, L ‖ 16 μελ[άνδετος D, C ‖ 20 Σκεύε ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ [τῷ ἐν ἄστει] Ph 1894, S ‖ 39 Ἐλευσῖνι ἀναθήματα C; Ἐλευσῖν[ι ἐν τῷ θεσαυρῷ S; [Ἐλευσῖνι .....[8]...]α L ‖ 42 θυμιατέριον ἐπίχρυ]σον S ‖ 49 Κυ[ζικηνοὶ στατῆρες] D, C; Κυζ[ικηνὸς στατήρ] S ‖ 50 ἔκτα[ι Φωκαΐδες Γ ||| σταθμόν] C ‖ 51 χρυσίς H ‖ 54 hέλκοσ[α] Ph 1894, C, H, L ‖ 69 χαλκ]ῆ Πίστος S ‖ 77 τετράποδ[ες S ‖ 78 [Πεντελήθεν] C ‖ 79 [τρίποδε] C ‖ 80 [ἔκποδε] C ‖ 83 νια: | C; [.....[14].....γ]ονιαῖ[ος] S, H [.....[15].....ον]ιαι-- L ‖ 90 το[ύτων] ὀκτώπους S ‖ 91 ὀρθοστάτας Δ[|| ἔκποδας ||||] C [τ]ρίποδ[ας] | || S; [τρίποδας |||] H, S; [τρίποδας ||||] L ‖ 95 δίποδε ἀμφότ[ερα : Γ ||] H ‖ 97 Ἀμαξι[αίω S ‖ 99 αἰγί[δος ξύλα S ‖ 118 (γύρις?) Willamowitz *apud* H ‖ 121 [ἔχοντε] ἐσκυτομεν[ω] D; [τένο]ντε H; ...α.....τε ἐσκυταμενο S; [--- α hιμάντε] ἐσκυτομένο [||] L ‖ 124 [.....μοχλ]οί L; [σιδήροι τύπ]οι C ‖ 135 σχοινίον C, S ‖ 138 ο[ἰνοχόη] S ‖ 139 [.....[12]..... κάναυσ]τρον S, H, L ‖ 140 κρηστηρίο S; [.....[15].....πο]τερίο H, L ‖ 141 ὀβελίσκοι ΔΔ | S ‖ 142 λύχ[νοι] Ph; λυχ[νεῖ D; λυχ[νεῖα : || : σιδῆρα] S; [βαλανά]γρα | : λυχ[νιδίω ||] C; [κρεά]γρα Kirchner *ad* II^2 1548.8; [.....[11]....πυρά]γρα : | : λυχ[νείο : || : σιδερᾶ] H; σιδερό L ‖ 143 κλ[Ph 1894; κιβο[τός δίθυρος S, H, L ‖ 144 [ἐπεγένετο] S, H; *con* ἐγένετο M, L ‖ 145 XXXXH[HHΓΔΔΔΔΓΙ-Ι-Ι]-ΙIIII S; XXXXH[HΓΔΔΔΔΓΙ-Ι-Ι]-ΙIIII H; XXXXHH[HΓΔΔΔΔΓΙ-Ι-Ι]-ΙIIII L ‖ 146 ΔΔΔΔΓ| D, S, H, L; ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἄστει μυστηρίων C ‖ 147 τε[μένος μίσ]θωσιν κτλ. C; τεμενῶν μίσθ]ωσιν S; μίσσθ]οσιν H, L ‖ 148 λήμμα[τα] Ph TTTΓHH[HΓΙ-IIIC] H; TTTΓHH[HΓΙ-IIIC] S, L ‖ 150 Ι-Ι-Ι D, C, S; Ι-Ι-Ι| H, L ‖ 151 τοὺς λίθους Ph 1894, C; ἐκ τô hιερô Π[λούτωνος D; [τὸ ἰε]ρὸν ἀνακ[αθάραντι] Ph 1894, C; [τὸ ἰ]ερὸν ἀνακ[αθαίροσι] D ‖ 156 τὰς θύρα[ς τô] Πλ[ούτονος] S, H, L; τὰς θύρας [ἀλ]εί[ψαντι καί] C ‖ 157 [ἀνοίξαντι] C ‖ 161 κ[αταγ]ράφ[οσι S, H *con* κ[α<τα>γ]ράφ[οσι] M; --ΔΔ-- L ‖ 168 σανί[δια λευκ]ώ[σαι S; σανι[δίο :] || : ο --- H; σανὶ[ς ἐφ' ἓ]ι λό[γον -- L ‖ 169 ἐγγράφσαι] H, L, S ‖ 170 ho τετ[αγμένος Ph 1894; ὁ τετ or ὅτε τ S; ho τετ[αγμένος ....[9]..... Ἐλευσῖ]νι M, L ‖ 172 HΓΔΔΔ[ΔΓII] S, H; HHΓΔΔΔ[ΔΓII] L ‖ 173 ταμίαι[ς τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τοῖς] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος ἄρχοντος, οἷς]| Δωρόθεο[ς ..... ἐγραμμάτευε] | κατὰ

ψή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου παρέδομεν] | ὑποθέ[μενοι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ] ʽΟπισθοδόμῳ Kirchhoff *apud* D ; 173 ταμίαι [τῶν θεῶν] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος ἄρχοντος .... οἷς] | Δωρόθεο[ς ---- ἐγραμμάτευε] | κατὰ ψή[φισμα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου] | ὑποθ[έμενοι παρέδοσαν (;) ἐν τῷ] | ʽΟπισθοδ[όμῳ χρυσίον ἐν κοίτῃ χαλκῇ] | ἐκ τῆς τε[τάρτης θήκης ...] | ἵνα σημ[ανθῇ—ἡ ἵνα σημεῖα ...] | χρυσίου σταθμὸν ---| ἐπὶ τούτῳ | TXX ἀργυρίον D ; 173 ταμίαι[ς τοῖς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος ἄρχοντος οἷς] | Δωρόθεο[ς ..... ἐγραμμάτευεν, παρέδομεν] | κατὰ φσή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου ἀργύριον] | ὑποθέμ[ενοι χρυσίον τὸ ἐν τῷ] | ʽΟπισθοδ[όμῳ ἐν κοίτῃ χαλκῇ] | ἐκ τῆς τε[τάρτης θήκης] | ἵνα σημ[εῖον .... ἔπεστιν] | [XX] χρυσίον σταθ[μόν] | [TT] TXX ἐπὶ τούτ[ῳ παρέδομεν] | ἀργύριον S; S etiam proposuit 173 ταμίαι [τοῖν θεοῖν παρέδοσαν ἀργύριον] κτλ. and 176 κατὰ φσή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου ἑλληνοταμίαις] κτλ. ; 173 ταμίαι[ς hιερὸν χρεμάτον τῆς ʽΑθεναίας] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος hοῖς Δορόθεος?] | Δοροθέο [Φλυεὺς? ἐγραμμάτευε παρέδομεν] κτλ. Ferguson ; 173 ταμίαι[ς hιερῶν χρεμάτον τῆς ʽΑθεναίας] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ] | Δοροθέο [γραμματεύοντος παρέδομεν] | κατὰ φσέ[φισμα τὸ δέμο ἀργύριον] | hυποθεμ[ένοις χρυσίον τὸ ἐν τôι] | ʽΟπισθοδ[όμοι ἐν κοίτει χαλκεî] | ἐκ τῆς τε[τάρτες θέκες Meritt (*AFD*, 29; *AJP* 69 (1948) 70) ; 173 ταμίαι[ς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος οἷς] | Δωρόθεο[ς ἐγραμμάτευε παρέδομεν] | κατὰ ψή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου χρυσίον] | ὑποθέμ[ενοι ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῷ] | ʽΟπισθοδ[όμῳ ἐν κοίτει χαλκêι] | ἐκ τῆς τε[τάρτης θήκης] | ἵνα ση[μανθῇ] | χρυσίου σταθ[μὸν --- | TTXX ἐπὶ τού[τῳ] | ἀργυρί[ου] C ; 173 ταμίαι[ς hιερôν χρεμάτον τῆς ʽΑθεναίας] | ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ] | Δοροθέο [γραμματεύοντος παρέδομεν] L ; 173 ταμίαι[ς τῆς θεô παρέδομεν τοῖς] L (I^3) ‖ 174 ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς hêι] H; ἐπὶ Εὐκ[λέους ἄρχοντος Ph ‖ 175 Δορόθεο[ς πρôτος ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδομεν H ‖ 181 σταθ[μὸς Ph ‖ 183 [TT]T[XX ἐπὶ τ]ούτ[οι ἀργυρίο παρέδομεν M (*AC*).

387, readings and restorations

2 ⁝ H, L Χαι[ρεστράτῳ Πειραιεῖ καί] D, C ‖ 4 ἐν Ph 1894 ‖ 16 σεμε[ῖον ... ἔπεστιν] S ‖ 17 *vac* χρυσίο σταθμό[ν ---] L ‖ 18 [ΤΤ]Τ[ΧΧ ἐπὶ τ]ούτ[οι ἀργυρίο παρέδομεν] S, H, M, dubitat L ‖ 22 πρὸς τôι το[ίχοι .....ΣΟΙ : Γ D ‖ 24 χρ[υσὸ δύο] D, S, H; χρ[υσὸ ---$^{c.10}$ --] OIII L (from Ph 1894) ‖ 26 [τῷ ἐν ἄστει] Ph 1894 ‖ 35 δίκροτος Ph 1894 ‖ 37 [τροχι]λ[ε]ία D ‖ 46 [ἀναθέμα]τα Ph; Ἐλευσîν[ι ἀναθήματ]α C; Ἐλευσîν[ι ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ] S; Ἐλευσîν[ι .....^{8}....]α L ‖ 47 φιάλ[αι χρυσόμφαλοι] S; φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔ I L ‖ 48 τ[ούτον ἐμ πλινθείοις] ΔΓ II S ‖ 49 [θυμιατήριον ἐπίχρυ]σον S; [σταθμὸν φιαλôν hαπα[σôν L ‖ 52 [--- χρυσὶς σταθμὸν τ]αύτες C; ... II χρυσὶς [:: I ::] στα[θμὸν τ]αύτες S ‖ 56 Κυζικηνὸς [στατήρ] S ‖ 57 Ἔκται Φωκαΐδες ὀ]κτὼ σταθμόν C ‖ 79 [Π]εν[τέπ]ο[δα I I] C ‖ 84 Σ . ΤΟ . ΒΟΛΕ Ph; ἐν τοῦ βολε[υτερίοι C; [καὶ τ]ὸ [ἀπ]ολε[λειμμένον Rubensohn (*JdI* 70 (1955) 7-8) ‖ 85 ... καινή ... C; Δ I ἐν Ph; ΣΑΘΡΟ.Η Ph; σαθρο[ί Ph 1894, C, H; ὀρθ[οστάται -- H; [..] ὀρθ[οστάται] S; ΣΑΘΙΟ L ‖ 87 Γ II ΤΕΛΕΒ.Ο Ph; τειε .. ο Ph 1894; Π[εν]τελε[θεν C; [Πε]ν[τελε]θ[εν] S, H; Πεντελεθ[εν] L ‖ 88 τρίποδ[ε] C, S; τρίποδ[ες] H, L ‖ 89 ἔκπ[οδε C, S ‖ 90 ο S ‖ 91 ---- ο ---- H, L ‖ 92 γ[ωνίαι Ph 1894; ωνια : I C; [.....^{14}.....γ]ονιαî[ος] S, H; [.....^{11} ... γ]ονιαî[ος --- L ‖ 94 .....^{18}.....υ S, H, L ‖ 95 γωνιαίους C ‖ 97 ἕτερον εἰργασμένον Ph; hέ]τερο[ν ἐργασ]μένον H ‖ 100 [τ]ρίποδ[ας] I I I S; [τ]ρίποδ[ας] IIII H, L; ἔκποδ[ε]ς Ph, D, C ‖ 135 ..χο]ντε κτλ. Ph 1894; [ἀσ]ΚΑΝΤΕ ΕΣΚΥΤΟΜΕΝΟ : II D; [h]ιμάντε κτλ. L ‖ 137 [...]ο[.]αι L ‖ 138 : I Ph 1894 ‖ 139 [μ]ο[χλ]οὶ [σιδ]ηροî S; [...^{6}..] μοχλοὶ ΔΔΓ L ‖ 141 ΓΔΣΣΣ D, S ‖ 146 [κλ]είθρα :[I I I κτλ. S, H, L ‖ 147ff. [πρίων] λιθοπρίστης I | [πρίστις : I : καρκίν]ο[ς : I] | [σιδήρου πάλιν αἱρετοῦ ΤΤΓ | [σφυροπέλεκυς | κόφινοι : Γ | σανὶς πτελεῖνη I | ξύλα ἐκ τῶν | Ἀλκιβιάδου Δ | κοντός : I | κῶπαι Γ I | σχοινίον | .....αδος IIII | κανών I | αλ | ποδανιπτῆρας C; novem linea perdita sunt; [βαλανάγρα : I : λυχνιδίω] II | [κλ .. ---- τραπέ]ζαι Γ III | [κιβώτιο]ν C.

On the stone the text is disposed in three columns under a continuous three-line prescript. The divisions encountered in the text are of two types: division by location and, within these, division by kind. The three locations are 1) the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει, line 5); 2) the City Eleusinion (ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι τôι ἐν ἄστει, line 14); and 3) Eleusis (Ἐλευσῖνι, line 39).

On the Acropolis coined silver and gold (lines 8-10) are listed with other costly items (lines 11-13) with no rubric intervening. This suggests the latter's similar valuation as capital. For the Eleusinion in Athens we find two distinct rubrics: ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι τôι ἐν ἄστει under which the more precious items are listed (lines 14-19); and σκεύε ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι which heads the entries of items related to cult maintenance and transportation at the City Eleusinion (lines 20-39). At Eleusis (Ἐλευσῖνι) the objects of value (lines 40-55) precede the coined silver (lines 56-59), with no rubric for either group. The rubric which follows (ἀναθήματα, line 60) sets off the list of dedications from the preceding list of precious items and money.

Thus for each location the first group of items, preceded by no rubric, evidently consisted of capital, viz. money and/or precious objects. There is, in addition, under the rubric of the City Eleusinion and Eleusis a list of materials. Only for Eleusis is a list of ἀναθήματα also recorded. While the dedications clearly end in line 69, no rubric is preserved in the following line, though there may have been one, to indicate the beginning of a list of materials related to maintenance and building operations at the sanctuary in Eleusis.

The first items inventoried among the materials at the sanctuary in Eleusis are stone blocks, measured or worked. Two rubrics follow, still within this group, indicating a further classification of the stone by its source [Πεντελεικοί] in line 78 and Αἰγιναῖοι in line 92. Following the stone are objects of wood as indicated by the next major rubric [χσύλα] in line 96. Wood is identified by kind ([π]εύκινα; ἐλάτινα, line 96) or cut ([σ]χίστο, line 97; ημίτομα, line 98). With no intervening rubric, the inventory passes from wood to tiles (κεράμο καινô ζεύγε, line 102); Ionic bases (σπε[ῖρ]αι, line 105), additional wood identified for a specific purpose (χσύλα ἐπιστύλια, line 106) to ladders of two sizes (line 111) and block-and-tackle (line 112). A wide variety of materials and tools follow with no apparent organization governing this part of the inventory down to its conclusion in line 143.

As indicated by the rubric partially preserved in line 144 (ἐπέτεια [λέμματα ἐκ τô]ν...), the inventory has ended and the accounts of the year begin. First revenues (lines 144-148) and then expenditures (lines 148-172) are given. The loan made to the tamiai of Athena (lines 174-183) follows upon the total of the year's expenditures, with no preserved rubric to set it off.

Throughout both sides of the account-inventories the *paragraphos* is used as a further means of division. Where a number follows in the next line, the *paragraphos* is found under it to indicate, presumably, that these two lines

comprise a unit (386.6, 9, 13, 59, 145, 172; 387.5, 8, 11, 13, 66). Where objects belonging together are listed on two or more lines, the *paragraphos* is used to group them (386.26-27; 56-57; 60-64; 96-99; 100-101; 108-109; 151-152; 159-160; 165-167; 180; 387.10-11; 21-22; 63-34; 106-109; 110-111). The *paragraphos* is also used before single items which appear with or without a numeral on the same line (e.g. 386.15-19, 49-52, 54, 55, 146, 147, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162; 387.9, 23, 25).

While the inscription is stoichedon, deviations from the stoichedon pattern do occur. They are not limited to, but occur more frequently in, column III of IG I^3 386. The most frequent deviation includes two unit signs occupying the same stoichos: 386.6; 386.7; 386.9(twice); 386.23(restored); 386.24(r); 386.25(r); 386.25; 386.34(r); 386.35(r); 386.36(r); 386.37(r); 386.41(r); 386.45(r); 386.50(r); 386.55; 386.84(twice); 386.91(thrice, r); 386.92 (r); 386.93(r); 386.94(r); 386.95(r); 386.97(twice, r); 386.109; 386.111; 386.112(twice); 386.113; 386.116(twice); 386.117; 386.119(twice, r); 386.120; 386.121(r);386.122; 386.126(twice); 386.127(thrice); 386.128; 386.136; 386.140; 386.142(r); 386.145(twice); 386.146; 386.148; 386.162; 386.170; 387.5; 387.6; 387.24(twice); 387.29; 387.30; 387.32; 387.41; 387.42; 387.43; 387.44; 387.48; 387.52(r); 387.61(r); 387.93(twice); 387.100(thrice); 387.102; 387.103; 387.104; 387.105; 387.107(twice); 387.115(twice); 387.119(r); 387.121(r); 387.123; 387.124; 387.125; 387.128(twice); 387.130; 387.132(twice); 387.133; 387.135; 387.136; 387.140; 387.142(twice); 386.143(twice); 387.144(three times); 387.145; 387.154(twice, r); 387.157(r); 387.163(r); 387.167; 387.168. Less frequently three unit signs appear in the same stoichos: 386.12; 386.27; 386.99; 386.105; 386.110; 386.113; 386.125; 386.129; 386.143; 386.152; 387.34 (r); 387.109; 387.120; 387.124; 387.146. Four units occupy one stoichos in 386.128. Other examples of crowding include ⊢| in 386.162; and Γ| in 386.123. More rarely numbers and letters share a stoichos: |+σ: 386.105; α +|: 386.123. Crowding of two letters in a single stoichos most frequently involves iota: ια: 386.11; 387.18; αι: 386.92; 386.148; ιδ: 386.52; γι: 386.92; θι: 386.52; λι: 386,129; ισ: 386.73; 386.129; ιο: 386.140; οι: 386.92; πι: 387.18; ρι: 386.129. Only two examples of crowding occur which do not include iota: θυ: 386.123; το: 386.149, and in the same line τὲν ἄκα is contained within five spaces. ον: | occupy two stoichoi in 386.136.

An interpunct (: · :) occupies an entire space in the prescript of 386.3. The more usual form of interpunct (:) shares a space with a unit sign in 386.126; 386.136. More than the normal space is allotted to letters in 386.148 where TTT occupies four spaces, and in 387.45 where αμ occupies three spaces.

Epigraphical Commentary - IG I³ 386

Numbering is by line within each column (I, II or III). The number which follows in parenthesis is the continuous numbering system used in the Corpus, most recently I³. Column II begins at stoichos 39, except for rubrics. Column III, with the exception of rubrics and numbers, begins in stoichos 69.

Line I.1: 16th stoichos: a circular letter is clear but the interpunct is no longer visible.

Line I.2: 26th stoichos: the left oblique of μ̣ remains.

Line I.3: 26th stoichos: of α̣ the lower part of the left diagonal is visible.

Line I.4: 21st stoichos: the apex of α̣ remains.

Line I.8: 12th stoichos: the semi-circle of ρ̣ remains in the upper right.

Line I.9: 13th stoichos: the lower left quadrant of Ϲ is visible.

Line I.10: 26th stoichos: of τ̣ the beginning of the cross-bar remains in the upper left.

Line I.18: 24th stoichos: of ν̣ the vertical stroke is visible in the left of the space, shorter than the preceding iota.

Line I.24: 22nd stoichos: of κ̣ the vertical and the beginning of the upper oblique remain.

Line I.25: 16th stoichos: of γ the left oblique and the start of the right oblique below their juncture are preserved at the top center. 17th stoichos: of α̣ the lower tips of both obliques are visible. 21st stoichos: of α̣ only the middle of the left oblique remains.

Line I.28: 18th stoichos: the circular shape of ο̣ appears dimly.

Line I.29: 11th stoichos: of δ̣ only the two diagonals are still visible. 14th stoichos: the top half of ο̣ remains. 16th stoichos: the upper left quadrant of ο̣ is preserved.

Line I.47: 3rd stoichos: of Η̣ the upper tip of the right vertical remains. 4th stoichos: Γ is clear. 7th stoichos: of Δ̣ the join of the diagonal and horizontal strokes is preserved in the lower left.

Line I.52: 18th stoichos: of ν̣ the lower tip of the left vertical is visible. 19th stoichos: of α̣ the lower part of the left oblique remains. Crowding involving iota occurs three times: 13th stoichos: ιδ; 16th stoichos: λι; 17th stoichos: θι.

Line I.53: 21st stoichos: of ν̣ the left vertical remains. 22nd stoichos: of α̣ the lower right and left tips of both obliques remain; the bottom of the space is uninscribed. 23rd stoichos: the lower tip of ι̣ can be seen.

Line I.54: 27th stoichos: σ is clear.

Column II begins at stoichos 39, except for rubrics.

Line II.8 (68): 49th stoichos: the upper right quadrant of ο̣ is visible.

Line II.13 (73): 55nd stoichos: ι is clear; ισ occur together.

Line II.16 (76): 49th stoichos: the surface is abraded but the outline of ο̣ is visible.

Line II.25 (85): 50th stoichos: ϵ is clear.

Line II.26 (86): 49th stoichos: the right half of ο̣ remains.

Line II.28 (88): 49th stoichos: of τ̣ the right half of the horizontal cross-bar is preserved at the top.

Line II.29 (89): 51st stoichos: of α̣ the top of two diagonals remain. 52nd stoichos: σ is clear. 53rd stoichos: μ is clear.

Line II.30 (90): 61st stoichos: the arc of ο̣ can be seen at the top center.

Line II.31 (90): 47th stoichos: α is clear.

Line II.33 (93): 49th stoichos: of τ̣ the tip of the horizontal appears in the top left.

Line II.36 (96): 47th stoichos: of α̣ the lower half of the left oblique stroke can be seen.

Line II.38 (98): 50th stoichos: of τ̣ only the bottom of a centered vertical can be seen.

Line II.39 (99): 53rd stoichos: of ι̣ only the lower portion of the centered vertical is visible.

Line II.40 (100): 55th stoichos: α is clear.

Line II.41 (101): 59th stoichos: of Γ̣ only half of the vertical is visible at the upper left.

Line II.42 (102): 38th stoichos: a horizontal division marker (*paragraphos*) is visible at the bottom of the space.

Line II.45 (105): 46th stoichos: the left upper quadrant of ο̣ is visible. 47th stoichos: the upper tip of ι̣ is visible to the left of center. 49th stoichos: three unit signs appear together. 50th stoichos: the stoichedon order is slightly defective here with a unit sign sharing the space with σ.

Line II.50 (110): 57th stoichos: the top horizontal of ϵ̣ is clear while a trace of the bottom tip of the vertical appears at the lower left.

Line II.53 (113): 56th stoichos: of θ̣ the right three-quarters of the circle is visible, but no center dot is preserved.

Line II.54 (114): 39th stoichos: of Η̣ the top half of the vertical is visible at the right with possibly a trace of the center horizontal cross-bar. 55th stoichos: of υ̣ only the bottom of a centered vertical is visible.

Line II.55 (115): 40th stoichos: of υ̣ the tip of the oblique remains in the upper right.

Line II.56 (116): 43rd stoichos: the upper right quadrant of ο̣ is visible. 53rd stoichos: of ο̣ the upper left quadrant is visible with the center damaged.

Line II.58 (118): 52nd stoichos: ϵ is clear.

Line II.59 (119): 49th stoichos: of α̣ the lower tip of the right oblique

is visible. 53rd stoichos: of ο̣ the lower left quadrant is preserved. 54th stoichos: of ν̣ only the right vertical is visible.

Line II.61 (121): 59th stoichos: the lower left quadrant of ο̣ is visible.

Line II.63 (123): 49th stoichos: of α̣ only the lower tip of the right oblique is preserved. The stoichos is also occupied by a unit sign. 51st stoichos: unusual crowding of θυ occurs.

Line II.64 (124): 48th stoichos: of λ̣ the tip of the oblique is visible to the right of the break.

Column III begins in stoichos 69, with the exception of numbers and rubrics.

Line III.6 (127): Two units share the same stoichos three times (81st, 89th, 96th stoichoi).

Line III.7 (128): 75th stoichos: crowding of four unit signs occurs.

Line III.8 (129): 75th stoichos: crowding of three unit signs. 85th stoichos: crowding of ρι. 88th stoichos: λι share a space. 93rd stoichos: ισ occur together.

Line III.14 (135): 88th stoichos: of α̣ the very tips of both obliques can be seen at the bottom.

Line III.15 (136): 74th stoichos: of Δ̣ only the very apex is visible. Two unit signs are crowded in both the 80th and 81st stoichoi. 85–86th stoichoi: ον are crowded. 87th stoichos: of φ the tip of the centered vertical is preserved with traces of an upward curving arc in the upper left. 91st stoichos: of ε̣ part of the vertical is visible at the lower left.

Line III.16 (137): 77th stoichos: the horizontal of π̣ is visible in the upper right. 78th stoichos: the right upper quadrant of ο̣ is visible.

Line III.17 (138): 82nd stoichos: of π̣ the tips of the two verticals are visible at the top. 85th stoichos: of α̣ the lower part of the right oblique can be seen. 86th stoichos: of χ the upper left oblique remains.

Line III.20 (141): 89th stoichos: of κ̣ the vertical is visible to the left.

Line III.22 (143): 69th stoichos: λ is clear. Measuring the space from κ to ι (from the 68th to 83rd stoichos) gives 0.139 m divided by the horizontal unit of 0.00933 m, or twelve spaces, in the lacuna. 90th stoichos: of τ̣ the tip of the horizontal cross-bar is visible in the upper left before the stone breaks off. Only four spaces remain to the right edge after κιβοτός : ι.

Line III.23 (144): Measuring from the α in the sixty-ninth space to μ in the eighty-second space (the second preserved letter after the lacuna), we find 0.123 m or 11 spaces. 85th stoichos: α is clear.

Line III.24 (145): 70th stoichos: of Η̣ only the left vertical and start of the center horizontal are visible. Measuring in the same way as above, we find the following lacuna to be eight spaces. 79th stoichos: of ⊢ only the lower tip of a vertical is visible.

Line III.25 (146): 69th stoichos: two unit signs are visible. 70th stoichos: of τ̣ the very tip of the horizontal cross-bar is visible in the upper left.

78th stoichos: σ is clear. Measurement of the space after τ̣ in the seventieth space to the next preserved letter (σ), in the seventy-eighth space, indicates a lacuna of seven spaces.

Line III.26 (147): 78th stoichos: the left half of θ̣ remains but the center is abraded. The preceding lacuna is eight spaces long.

Line III.27 (148): 85th–88 stoichoi: TTT occupies four, rather than the expected three, spaces. 89th stoichos: ⊢is clear. 92nd stoichos: of Ḥ only the vertical to the left of center and the beginning of a horizontal stroke at the center is preserved.

Line III.28 (149): 68th stoichos: the left oblique of α̣ is preserved up to but not including the apex. 78th stoichos: of α̣ only the bottom tip of the left oblique remains visible. 91st stoichos: of τ̣ the upper tip of the centered vertical is visible. Crowding of το and ιο occurs respectively in the seventy-third and eighty-first spaces.

Line III.29 (150): 67th stoichos: only the lower vertical of ⊢ is visible.

Line III.31 (152): 64th stoichos: the apex of Δ̣ is visible. 75th stoichos: of ρ̣ only the lower right part of the arc and the top part of the vertical are preserved at the center.

Line III.32 (153): 66th stoichos: Of ⊢ the very right tip of the horizontal stroke is visible at the center. 75th stoichos: H is clear. 80th stoichos: the lower right quadrant of ο̣ remains.

Line III.33 (154): 68th stoichos: of τ̣ the beginning of the vertical near its top and the right half of the horizontal cross-bar are visible. 69th stoichos: the upper right quadrant of ο̣ remains.

Line III.34 (155): 80th stoichos: the left diagonal of α̣ remains.

Line III.35 (156): 74th stoichos: of α̣ only the left diagonal remains. 78th stoichos: from the photograph it appears that the mason first inscribed Γ and then altered the letter to ρ̣. See commentary below for Clinton's proposed restoration.

Line III.36 (157): 81st stoichos: of υ̣ the lower tip of the left vertical is visible.

Line III.38 (159): 82nd stoichos: the bottom half of ι̣ is preserved. 86th stoichos: the lower left quadrant of ο̣ remains.

Line III.39 (160): 79th stoichos: of υ̣ the upper tip of the left vertical is visible.

Line III.40 (161): 66th stoichos: of ⊢ the upper portion of the vertical remains. 95th stoichos: ο is clear. Measurement of the lacuna indicates that it is only two spaces (i.e., spaces ninety and ninety-one).

Line III.42 (163): 73rd stoichos: of α̣ the apex and the upper part of the left oblique remain. 74th stoichos: the lower part of ι̣ remains.

Line III.43 (164): 71st stoichos: of υ̣ the upper tip of the left oblique is visible.

Line III.45 (166): 82nd stoichos: the center of ọ shows a later accidental mark.

Line III.50 (171): 73rd stoichos: the left vertical of ṿ remains.

Line III.54 (175): 74th stoichos: of ọ the left half of a circular letter remains.

Line III.57 (178): 75th stoichos: the left upper quadrant of ọ is visible.

Line III.61–62 (182–183): 63rd stoichos: of Ṭ the right tip of the horizontal cross-bar is visible.

Line III.62 (183): 74th stoichos: of ọ the upper left quadrant remains.

Epigraphical Commentary - IG I³ 387

Column II begins at the 38th stoichos, except for rubrics. Column III begins at the 72nd stoichos, except for rubrics.

Line I.2: 2nd stoichos: of α both obliques are completely preserved; the lower portion of the space is uninscribed. 3rd stoichos: the apex only of δ is preserved and the stoichos is deeply gouged.

Line I.6: 1st–2nd stoichoi: three unit signs are clearly visible.

Line I.17: 16th stoichos: of ν the tip of the left vertical is preserved at the top.

Line I.18: 3rd stoichos: of Τ most of the horizontal cross-bar is preserved. 7th stoichos: of π only the right angle formed by the juncture of a horizontal and vertical stroke is visible in the upper left. There is also crowding of πι. 12th stoichos: of ο the left half is preserved. 13th stoichos: the apex of α is preserved. There is crowding of ια.

Line I.19: 8th stoichos: of ι the lower half remains just slightly to the left of center.

Line I.24: 18th stoichos: υ is clear. 31st stoichos: of Γ the left vertical is clearly visible; there is perhaps a dim trace of the upper horizontal.

Line I.28: 10th stoichos: υ is clear. 19th stoichos: of ρ the vertical and the beginning of the rounding at its top and right remain.

Line I.29: 10th stoichos: ρ is clear. 11th stoichos: of α the dim outlines of the two obliques are visible. Beginning with the fourteenth stoichos, the traces of the following letters are very dim because of the poor condition of the stone. 14th stoichos: of ζ a widened centered vertical as well as the top and bottom horizontal cross-bars at the left are visible. 15th stoichos: of ε the horizontal near the top left and a trace of the left-of-center vertical remain. 16th stoichos: of υ the lower portion of the centered vertical and the right oblique are visible. 17th stoichos: the two diagonals of γ at its apex are clear. 18th stoichos: of ε the upper half of the vertical and the left portion of the top horizontal and their join remain. 20th stoichos: of α the left diagonal remains after the break. 23rd stoichos: of α the right diagonal alone remains. 24th stoichos: the left diagonal of Δ remains. 26th stoichos: of Δ the right oblique and its junction at the apex with the beginning of the left oblique are visible.

Line I.30: 14th stoichos: unit sign is clear. 15th stoichos: τ is clear. 16th stoichos: ε is clear. 17th stoichos: τ is clear. 18th stoichos: ρ is clear. 19th stoichos: α is clear.

Line I.31: 12th stoichos: ν is clear. 18th stoichos: λ is clear. 19th stoichos: the center of ο is abraded.

Line I.32: 17th stoichos: of κ a short oblique stroke is visible in the upper right of the stoichos. 18th stoichos: of ρ the lower portion of the vertical as well as the beginning of the rounding at the center of the stoichos are preserved. 19th stoichos: the center of ο is abraded.

Line I.33: 17th stoichos: ο is clear. 19th stoichos: the center of ο is abraded. 21st stoichos: of τ only half of the horizontal is visible in the upper right with perhaps the beginning of the vertical where it joins the horizontal cross-bar. 26th stoichos: of κ only the vertical towards the left of the space is visible.

Line I.34: 19th stoichos: of ε the top horizontal and, perhaps, the right tip of the middle horizontal are preserved. 20th stoichos: of λ the tip of the vertical is preserved at the top left.

Line I.35: 26th stoichos: of ρ the upper right curve remains as well as the tip of the vertical at the bottom left. 28th stoichos: μ is clear. 33rd stoichos: the lower tip of the unit sign is visible.

Line I.36: 20th stoichos: κ is clear.

Line I.38: 12th stoichos: κ is clear. 13th stoichos: of α the right diagonal alone can still be seen. 14th stoichos: ι is clear. 15th stoichos: ν is clear. 19th stoichos: of χ the lower right oblique and perhaps a trace of the upper right oblique remain. 23rd stoichos: dim traces of Γ are barely visible.

Line I.39: 20th stoichos: of ε only the lower part of the vertical and the join of the horizontal and vertical at the left edge of the stoichos are preserved before the break.

Line I.40: 21st stoichos: ι is clear.

Line I.44: 13th stoichos: of ε only the vertical towards the left is visible.

Line I.45: A deviation from the regular stoichedon order occurs in the seventeenth through nineteenth spaces, which are occupied by only two letters, inscribed between, rather than in, the spaces. α appears between the seventeenth and eighteenth spaces, while μ appears between the eighteenth and nineteenth. The normal stoichedon pattern resumes in the twentieth.

Line I.46: In IG I³ Lewis reads Ἐλευσῖνι[...⁸....]α. The tops of both the twenty-first and twenty-second stoichoi are preserved. There is no trace of the alpha in the twenty-first stoichos where it should be for this reading.

Line I.48: 25th stoichos: of Δ only the top half of the right diagonal is visible.

Line I.49: 6th stoichos: only the tip of a vertical stroke remains at the top of the space. Thus ⊢ or I are possible.

Line I.52: The weight of the χρυσίς must occupy stoichoi 1–8 with the χ of χρυσίς in stoichos 9, one space to the right of the normal column margin. (Normally numbers appear in stoichoi 1–7 with the items to which they refer, i.e., the normal left margin for column I, beginning in stoichos 8.) See

commentary below for a discussion of the restoration.

Line I.58: 24th stoichos: of κ̣ two short obliques diverging from the center to the right top and bottom of the stoichos are visible.

Column II begins at the 38th stoichos, except for rubrics.

Line II.11 (70): 43rd stoichos: ρ is clear.

Line II.14 (73): 45th stoichos: the center of ο̣ is abraded.

Line II.15 (74): 50th stoichos: σ is clear.

Line II.16 (75): 39th stoichos: τ is clear. 40th stoichos: of α̣ the apex at the top center and the lower tips of the right and left obliques are preserved. 41st stoichos: the central dot of θ̣ is not visible. 43rd stoichos: ο is clear. 47th stoichos: of υ̣ the upper portions of the two obliques are still visible. 48th stoichos: τ is clear. 49th stoichos: the left upper quadrant of ο̣ is visible before the stone breaks off.

Line II.17 (76): 40th stoichos: the top arc of ρ̣ is visible in the upper right. 41st stoichos: the right oblique of α̣ remains. 42nd stoichos: the left oblique of γ is visible. 44th stoichos: the lower horizontal of δ̣ is not preserved.

Line II.20 (79): 38th stoichos: of Η̣ only the lower tips of two parallel verticals remain. 42nd stoichos: the left half of ο̣ remains.

Line II.21 (80): 45th stoichos: the lower left quadrant of ο̣ is visible.

Line II.22 (81): 46th stoichos: α is clear.

Line II.25 (84): 42nd stoichos: the centered vertical of ι̣ is clear; a short diagonal visible at the bottom right is probably later damage.

Line II.26 (85): 45th stoichos: ε is clear.

Line II.27 (86): 38th stoichos: σ is clear. 39th stoichos: α is clear. 40th stoichos: θ̣ is visible, but the center dot is not preserved. 44th stoichos: Η is clear. 45th stoichos: ε is clear. 58th stoichos: the two oblique strokes of α̣ remain. 59th stoichos: of π̣ the vertical remains at the left along with the right angle formed by the horizontal and vertical strokes in the upper right.

Line II.28 (87): This line constitutes a division in the text and so begins in the thirty-fifth space rather than the thirty-eighth space, i.e., three spaces to the left of the column margin. The line is clear but difficult to read because of discoloration and abrasion of the stone.

Line II.29 (88): 38th stoichos: τ is clear. 39th stoichos: of ρ̣ only the arc remains in the upper right. 40th stoichos: ι is clear.

Line II.30 (89): 39th stoichos: ε is clear. 40th stoichos: κ is clear. 41st stoichos: of π̣ the join of the horizontal and vertical strokes can be seen in the upper left.

Line II.33 (92): 53rd stoichos: ο is clear. 54th stoichos: π is clear. 55th stoichos: ι is clear. 56th stoichos: α is clear. 57th stoichos: the unit sign is clear.

Line II.34 (93): 51st stoichos: of υ̣ the lower half of the centered vertical and the tip of an oblique stroke in the upper right can barely be seen.

52nd stoichos: of λ̣ a vertical to the left of center with a trace of the acute angle formed at the lower left remains. 53rd stoichos: ο is clear. 54th stoichos: of β̣ a vertical to the left of center with, perhaps, traces of rounding at the top and bottom are visible. 55th stoichos: of α̣ both oblique strokes but no trace of the center cross-bar remain.

Line II.35 (94): 52nd stoichos: of Δ̣ most of the right and the upper part of the left oblique are preserved. 53rd stoichos: of Δ̣ the right oblique and the left just at the apex remain. 54th stoichos: of Δ̣ the right oblique and most of the left are visible.

Line II.38 (97): 47th stoichos: ε is clear. 48th stoichos: the lower half of the vertical of τ̣ can be seen. 53rd stoichos: ε is clear. 54th stoichos: ρ is clear. 55th stoichos: γ is clear. 56th stoichos: α is clear. 57th stoichos: σ is clear. 61st stoichos: ο is clear. 62nd stoichos: ν is clear.

Line II.39 (98): 44th stoichos: the left vertical of ν̣ is visible. 45th stoichos: the circle of ο̣ remains, but the center is abraded. 46th stoichos: of ν̣ the right vertical and perhaps the very tip of the left vertical are preserved. 49th stoichos: γ is clear. 50th stoichos: α is clear. 51st stoichos: σ is clear. 52nd stoichos: μ is clear. 53rd stoichos: ε is clear.

Line II.40 (99): 40th stoichos: of ε̣ the horizontal stroke appears at the bottom along with the very right tip of the middle horizontal at its right center. 45th stoichos: of α̣ the lower tip of the left oblique is visible. 49th stoichos: Δ is clear. 50th stoichos: Γ is clear. 51st stoichos: τ is clear. 52nd stoichos: ο is clear. 53rd stoichos: υ is clear. 54th stoichos: τ is clear. 55th stoichos: ο is clear. 56th stoichos: ν is clear. 61st stoichos: π is clear. 62nd stoichos: ο is clear. 63rd stoichos: σ is clear.

Line II.41 (100): 39th stoichos: of ρ̣ the vertical and the rounded arc beginning from the vertical remain at the center. 44th stoichos: α is clear. 45th stoichos: τ is clear. 46th stoichos: only the bottom tips of the right and left obliques remain of α̣. 49th stoichos: two unit signs are clear. 50th stoichos: of δ̣ only the apex of a triangular letter remains. 55th stoichos: α is clear.

Line II.43 (102): 47th stoichos: σ is clear. 53rd stoichos: ε is clear. 54th stoichos: ρ is clear.

Line II.45 (104): 55th stoichos: σ is clear.

Line II.46 (105): 38th stoichos: σ is clear. 59th stoichos: of ε̣ a horizontal stroke and its join with a vertical stroke at the top left remain. 60th stoichos: of ρ̣ the rounded stroke near the top center is visible. 61st stoichos: of α̣ both obliques but not their apex are visible.

Line II.47 (106): 46th stoichos: α is clear.

Line II.48 (107): 40th stoichos: the top of ι̣ is visible. 52nd stoichos: α is clear. 53rd stoichos: ι is clear. 54th stoichos: ο is clear.

Line II.50 (109): 47th stoichos: Γ is definite. Despite the abraded center, there appear to be traces suggestive of Γ̣.

Line II.51 (110): 58th stoichos: the upper and lower tips of ι̣ rather close to the preceding letter are visible.

Line II.52 (111): 43rd stoichos: of γ the right oblique and the apex at the center are visible.

Line II.53 (112): 43rd stoichos: only the left half of ο̣ is visible.

Line II.54 (113): 44th stoichos: of ε̣ a tip of a vertical stroke remains at the lower left. 45th stoichos: of ο̣ the upper right quadrant is visible.

Line II.57 (116): 46th stoichos: σ is clear.

Line II.58 (117): 46th stoichos: of ε̣ the left half of the top horizontal and the beginning of a vertical where it joins the horizontal is preserved.

Line II.59 (118): 40th stoichos: of ε̣ the top half of the vertical and the horizontal which forms a right angle with it remain at the left. 43rd stoichos: σ is clear. 50th stoichos: of τ̣ the upper left of the horizontal cross-bar is visible.

Line II.60 (119): 39th stoichos: of α̣ the very tip of an oblique stroke is visible in the lower right.

Column III begins at the 72nd stoichos, except for rubrics.

Line III.13 (132): 87th stoichos: ν is clear.

Line III.15 (134): 73rd stoichos: ι is clear.

Line III.17 (136): 73rd stoichos: σ is clear. 74th stoichos: κ is clear. 75th stoichos: of υ̣ the lower half of the centered vertical is visible. 76th stoichos: τ is clear.

Line III.18 (137): 74th stoichos: λ is clear. 76th stoichos: the lower half of the centered vertical of ι̣ is visible. Additional wear across the top of the stoichos is probably later damage. 77th stoichos: Δ is clear. 78th stoichos: Γ is clear.

Line III.19 (138): 73rd stoichos: of υ̣ the lower half of the centered vertical and the upper left oblique can barely be seen. 74th stoichos: of ρ̣ a rounded stroke at the upper center and the bottom tip of the vertical stroke are visible. 75th stoichos: ο is clear. 76th stoichos: of ν̣ the upper half of the left vertical and the oblique where it joins the vertical are visible. 77th stoichos: ζ is clear. 78th stoichos: ε is clear. 79th stoichos: υ is clear. 80th stoichos: of γ only the right oblique remains; the center of the stoichos is abraded but the bottom of the stoichos is clearly uninscribed.

Line III.20 (139): 73rd stoichos: ι is clear. 74th stoichos: δ is clear. 75th stoichos: of ε̣ only a vertical to the left of center and the horizontal which joins it at the top can be seen.

Line III.21 (140): 74th stoichos: of χ the tip of the lower oblique is visible in the lower left. 76th stoichos: the center of ο̣ is abraded. 79th stoichos: ι is clear. 82nd stoichos: the vertical of ρ̣ is visible. The area to the right of the vertical is gouged so that the arc which joins it in the upper right is difficult to distinguish.

Line III.22 (141): 73rd stoichos: of τ the right tip of the horizontal cross-bar is visible. 74th stoichos: of α the lower halves of both obliques and a dim trace of the right half of the center cross-bar can be seen. 74th stoichos: the center of θ is abraded. 78th stoichos: of ν the top tips of two parallel verticals are preserved.

Line III.23 (142): 73rd stoichos: only the right half of ο is preserved after the break.

Line III.24 (143): 88th stoichos: of ρ a rounded arc is visible in the upper right; the very bottom tip of the vertical is preserved.

Line III.25 (144): 79th stoichos: μ is clear. 80th stoichos: ι is clear. 81st stoichos: ν is clear. 83nd stoichos: υ is clear. 83rd stoichos: of α the left diagonal and the upper part of the right are visible; the bottom of the space is uninscribed.

Line III.26 (145): 80th stoichos: of υ the upper tips of both obliques and the lower portion of the vertical are faintly visible. 81st stoichos: π is clear. 82nd stoichos: only the apex of α remains. 83rd stoichos: μ is clear.

Line III.27 (146): 79th stoichos: the two unit signs are clear on the right and left side. There appears to be a third unit sign between them, slightly lower in the space than the other two verticals. 80th stoichos: of σ the upper and lower diagonals are faintly visible. 81st stoichos: of τ the top horizontal and the very beginning of the vertical which joins it at the center are faintly visible. 83rd stoichos: the center of θ is abraded. 84th stoichos: μ is clear.

Line III.28 (147): 75th stoichos: of ο only the right upper quadrant is visible. 76th stoichos: ν is clear. 77th stoichos: λ is clear. 78th stoichos: the centered vertical of ι is visible but widened, apparently due to weathering. 79th stoichos: only the outline of θ remains. 80th stoichos: only the left half of ο is visible. 85th stoichos: of τ a centered vertical is visible with a trace of the horizontal cross-bar. 86th stoichos: of ε the lower half of a vertical and the right angle formed by the beginning of the lower horizontal are preserved. 88th stoichos: a trace of a centered vertical remains.

Line III.29 (148): 86th stoichos: of ο the upper right and lower left quadrants are visible. 87th stoichos: the top oblique of σ is faintly visible. 88th stoichos: the beginning of a centered vertical is faintly visible at the top.

Line III.50 (169): 82nd stoichos: of α the very tip of the oblique stroke is visible at the lower right.

Line III.51 (170): 78th stoichos: σ is clear. 79th stoichos: the lower tip of a centered vertical remains.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMENTARY IG I^3 386-387

IG I^3 386

1 ΘΕΟΙ On θεοί as a heading, see now Pounder,[1] who traced its origins back to Babylonia: "Its presence on the stone may best be explained as harking back to an early religious element, imprecatory and apotropaic in nature." Ultimately the curse meant to accompany θεοί was forgotten, but its apotropaic qualities were not. Used sporadically on both public and private documents, it came to be seen as a "benign means of protection."

2 Note the name of the board: ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι. The epistatai were created as a five man annual board empowered to oversee the income and expenditures of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and the Eleusinion in the City. They also oversaw the money derived from the aparche located on the Acropolis. Their number and term of office do not remain constant from their creation (IG I^3 32) through the remaining records. For a complete discussion of these records see Chapter One above.

ἐπὶ Εὐκτέμ[ονος ἄρχοντος This dates IG I^3 386 to 408/7. Although Euktemon's name (*PA* 5799; *GPN* 176) is not completely preserved here, the letters ΕΥΚΤΕΜ- make the identification certain, for no other archon of the fifth century has a name beginning thus. Dating at this time, 408/7, is done by Athenian archon at Eleusis, although this practice has not yet been adopted in the accounts of the tamiai of Athena who use instead the standard prescript without archon.[2]

.....τος Πειραιεύς is the first epistates named in the prescript. Despite the absence of the first nine letters, Philios[3] restored the name as

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[1] R. Pounder, "The Origin of θεοί as Inscription-Heading," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday, GRBS* 10 (1984) 243-50.

[2] Sardemann 11.

[3] ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΕΞ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΟΣ, *AM* 19 (1894) 192.

Χαιρέστρα]τος Πειραιεύς. So too Kirchner (*PA* 15171). But Sardemann[4] noted: "Die Ergänzung Χαιρέστρατος ist durchaus unsicher, wenn auch die Auswahl unter den Namen auf -τος durch die Größe der Lücke sehr eingeschränkt wird; möglich wäre z.B. auch Ναυσίστρατος, Ὀνησίκριτος." Therefore it is preferable to leave the name unrestored. The Phyle is Hippothontis (VIII).

Μενεκλῆς ἱπποτομάδες *PA* 9922; *GPN* 305 (no. 35). Phyle Oineis (VI).

2-3 Ἀμφισθένες Ποτάμιος *PA* 786; *GPN* 28 (no. 3). Phyle Leontis (IV). He is secretary of the epistatai.

3 Members of the board going out of office include Εὐφίλετος Κεφισιεύς (I), *PA* 6067; *GPN* 188 (no. 31). This same Euphiletos of Kephisia also seems to appear in another *traditio*, IG I^3 473, a fragment dated to 420/19: Εὐφίλετο[ς Κε]φισ[ιεύς]. Euphiletos there is the sole named member of the [ταμίαι τῆς] θεοῦ. Phyle Erechtheis (I).

4 The secretary of the outgoing board is Κτῆσος Συμπαλέττιος, *PA* 8904; *GPN* 276. Phyle Kekropis (VII). This three-line prescript gives us evidence for the composition of the board of epistatai for two years: the year in which the account-inventory is issued, 408/7, and the preceding year. The board of 408/7 lists two members along with their secretary. While only one member of the board of 409/8 is named, his colleagues (excluding the secretary) are designated as συνάρχοντες so that we may presume a board of at least four members (including the secretary).

Since the year or years of office of the preceding board are not listed, there exists the possibility that this is a quadrennial rather than an annual board. Because the inscription is dated by only one archon and is concerned only with the accounts of one year, I prefer to follow Sardemann[5] in assuming that the epistatai are now serving as an annual board, as specified by the terms of IG I^3 32.17. A comparison of this prescript with that of IG I^3 387 shows that the epistatai for 408/7 served only for a single year as well. One may compare and contrast IG I^3 391 (422/1–419/8) in which they are quadrennial. Since IG I^3 386 is only one account and since the record of the *paradosis* made to their successors is inscribed on the reverse of the same stone on which was inscribed the record of their receipt of the property, it seems simpler here to assume an annual, not quadrennial, board.

IG I^3 386 offers no real support for the contention that the epistatai were

[4] Sardemann 11, n. 1.

[5] Sardemann 12.

chosen, in so far as it was possible with a board consisting of fewer than ten members, with regard to their phylai. Represented in 408/7 are members of Hippothontis (VIII), Oineis (VI), and Leontis (IV), the last being secretary. Of the preceding board only two are named: one is of the tribe Erechtheis (I), while the secretary represents Kekropis (VII). Although there is no overlapping among those listed, the board of 408/7 is not listed in tribal order. Similarly, the epistatai of IG I³ 387 (Eubios of Aithalidai (Leontis, IV) and Smikythion of Halai (Aigeis II/Kekropis VII)) offer no support for this view. If the epistatai were chosen with respect to their phylai in the fifth century, then they were not listed with any special attention to that order.

5 ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ

Under the first rubric indicating the possessions of the Goddesses located on the Acropolis, the sum of ΧΗΔΔΔΓ⊢⊢III or 1137 drachmas and 3 obols, derived from the first-fruits, is listed in line 6.

In IG I³ 391 the hieropoioi hand over to the epistatai ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τô σίτο τêς ἀπαρχêς τοῖν θεοῖν. There, however, we are dealing with fairly minimal sums: six drachmas for 420/19 and thirty-one drachmas for 419/8. The existence of these sums seems to indicate a change from the carefully specified procedures for dealing with the aparche which are set forth in IG I³ 78. This decree specifies that sacrifices are to be made to all the necessary divinities (lines 36-40). Then, dedications are to be made from the remaining first-fruits (lines 40-44). No provisions are made for small amounts of money that might be left after dedications are made from the sale of the first-fruits nor for their transfer to another board. That the epistatai record here in 386 the sum held on the Acropolis from the aparche, a sum we know to have been administered by the hieropoioi in c. 460 B.C. (IG I³ 6), without reference to any other Eleusinian officials, suggests that the epistatai are now, in 408/7, the financial administrators of the aparche. For further discussion, see above, pp. 73-77.

However, the full significance of the sum recorded here in line six is unclear because of the general paucity of evidence for this period. We do know that the aparche was already kept on the Acropolis in c. 460 B.C. under the administration of the hieropoioi (IG I³ 6). Whether the stipulation in IG I³ 6.32-36 allowing the Athenian Demos access to and use of these funds was the reason for its continued location on the Acropolis is unclear. There is no basis from which to judge how many years of aparchai are represented here, or whether the Athenian Demos had continued to exercise its prerogative. If one could assume that the amount of aparche collected annually and its administration were the same as that recorded in the fourth century, when we know from IG II² 1672 that the sale of the aparche netted 3510 drachmas 5 1/2 obols from which the cost of sacrificial animals and other expenditures, totalling 3235 drachmas 1/2 obol, were deducted, leaving a surplus of 275 drachmas 5 obols, then the figure

recorded here (1137 drachmas 3 obols) would represent approximately a four year surplus. Unfortunately, one cannot make any of these assumptions, so the value of this figure remains obscure.

The presence here of the aparche on the Acropolis might, if considered *in vacuo*, suggest that the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52), which created a board of treasurers to administer the possessions of the Other Gods, i.e., all the local gods of Attica other than Athena, located on the Acropolis, also included Demeter and Kore among the Other Gods. But the general license granted to the Demos in the *lex sacra* of c. 460 (IG I^3 6.32-36) to make use of these funds already located on the Acropolis, but administered then by the Eleusinian hieropoioi (I^3 6.36-39), and the continued administration of those funds in the present document by the epistatai suggest that the possessions of Demeter and Kore were not, prior to this time, administered by the treasurers of the Other Gods.

Ferguson contended that Demeter and Kore should be included among the Other Gods, citing as compelling evidence (rather than the uncompelling fact that Demeter and Kore might have appeared in the half of the accounts of the Other Gods which is missing) the following. First, the accounts of the logistai (IG I^3 369.91) record a loan from the Mother at Agrai, the same deity to whom a credit is given in IG I^3 383.50.[6] The epistatai also record revenue from Agrai in IG I^3 386.146. Ferguson then cited the appearance of property belonging to Demeter and Kore in the Hekatompedon inventory after 403 as evidence that the treasure of Demeter and Kore did not escape the expropriation of votives in 404-403. "At Eleusis the epistatai may have had to recognize the concurrent jurisdiction of the Tamiae during the last period of the war. The presence of articles belonging to Demeter and Kore in the Hekatompedon between 403 and 385 B.C. and their augmentation even thereafter are explicable only on the basis of such concurrence."[7]

Clinton[8] rejected Ferguson's argument for shared jurisdiction based on the receipt of revenue from the Mother in Agrai because the epistatai only receive money from the Lesser Mysteries held there and do not administer that sanctuary. The transfer of Eleusinian assets to the Hekatompedon, however, leads Clinton to suggest that possibly as early as 406 the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods were in charge of Eleusinian finances. This transfer of the Goddesses' property may have been prompted by a concern for the safety of capital assets at Eleusis as well as a desire for easier access if it became necessary to melt them down. Clinton further suggested that this transfer

[6] Ferguson 93-94, n. 2.

[7] Ferguson 116.

[8] Clinton, *Treasures* 58-59.

occurred in two parts: first, from the epistatai to the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (i.e., from Eleusis to the Acropolis); and second, from the assets on the Acropolis to the Hekatompedon.[9] In sum, there is no evidence which permits us to assume that the Treasurers of the Other Gods had jurisdiction over the Eleusinian assets at any point prior to 408/7 when these records show the epistatai still in charge of the assets of the Two Goddesses.

The *lex sacra* cited above shows how close the involvement of the Athenian Demos in the sanctuary's administration was already in 460. I quote here the pertinent part of IG I³ 6 according to the text offered by Clinton.[10]

32 τ̣ô δὲ ḥ[ι]ερô ἀργυρί[ο τ̂ες ἀπαρ]
χ̂ες ἐχ[σ]ε̣ῖναι ˙Αθεν[αίοισι χρ]
[ε̂]σθαι ḥό̣[τι] ἂν β̣όλο[νται, καθά]
περ τô τ̂ες ˙Αθ̣εναί̣α[ς ἀργυρίο]
36 τô ἐμ πόλει· τ̣ὸ̣ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]
ς hιεροποιὸς τ̣[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐ]
[μ] πόλ̣ει ταμιεύεσθ[αι ..⁶...]

These hieropoioi should probably be identified with the hιεροποιοὶ ˙Ελευσινίον of IG I³ 5 who, as Clinton[11] has demonstrated, are not the officials of the Eleusinia but rather the hieropoioi of the Eleusinians. While these hieropoioi were appointed by or drawn from the Eleusinians at the date of I³ 5 (c. 500 B.C.), "surely later in the century they were appointed by the State, probably the Boule. The duties of the late fifth century hιεροποιοὶ ˙Ελευσινόθεν included some limited administrative and sacrificial activities at the Mysteries, i.e. mainly activities in which the State had an interest and which it did not wish to be handled by the gene, e.g. the Aparche."[12] The decline in the importance of the hieropoioi (whose method of selection is not known, but

[9] For a complete discussion of the Eleusinian items which appear in the fourth century records (II² 1375, 1388, 1400, 1401), see K. Clinton, "Eleusinian Treasures in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday, GRBS* 10 (1984) 51-60.

[10] Clinton, *Officials* 11.

[11] K. Clinton, "IG I² 5, The Eleusinia, and The Eleusinians," *AJP* 100 (1979) 9.

[12] *Contra* Rhodes (*The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1985) 128, n. 13), who argued that only after 353 did the Boule select the hieropoioi. The change in name, from hιεροποιοὶ ˙Ελευσῖνι or ˙Ελευσινόθεν, in the fifth century documents, to ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς in IG II² 1672 may support Rhodes. We have seen with regard to the epistatai, however, that ˙Ελευσῖνι or ˙Ελευσίνοθεν are used to identify the epistatai whom we know to have been chosen from all Athenians. Thus while ἐγ βουλῆς can be understood to mean that the hieropoioi of the fourth century were chosen from, or possibly by, the Boule, nothing in their fifth century title provides us with information on the process of their selection. See above, Chapter One.

who may have had much closer ties to the Eleusinians), and the corresponding rise of the epistatai (whom we know from IG I^3 32.7-8 to have been chosen from all Athenians) in the administration of the sanctuary at Eleusis seem only to offer further evidence in support of the increasing dominance of Athens in the administration of the local sanctuaries of Attica. Administration by the treasurers of the Other Gods was apparently not necessary in order to allow Athenian involvement in local sanctuary administration. No evidence exists, moreover, for joint jurisdiction by the epistatai and the tamiai of the Other Gods. Thus, on the basis of IG I^3 6 and IG I^3 386-387, it seems reasonable to conclude that whatever control was exercised by the Athenians, by decree of the Demos, over the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis was carried out by the hieropoioi or epistatai, not through the separately empowered tamiai of the Other Gods.

6 XHΔΔΔΓ⊢⊢III

Cavaignac[13] considered 1137 drachmas 3 obols a rather low figure, which he ascribed to the Decelean war and the fact that it had been four or five years since the allies had wanted to or the Athenians could donate grain. Because we lack any real evidence to estimate how much was collected, what had to be used for cult purposes, and, of the amount remaining what portion was used for dedications or other acceptable expenditures, it is difficult to judge whether this is a paltry sum or not. If this sum represents only a small surplus, such as appears in IG I^3 391, then this might not be abnormally small. We can say that no aparche was received in 408/7 by the epistatai, as none is listed among the income recorded from various sources (IG I^3 386.144-148). Perhaps there had been no harvest from which to offer the aparche after the occupation of Decelea in 413. While the Athenians could expect to make use of their land after the departure of the Peloponnesian forces led by Archidamus, the type of devastation which occurred with the installation of the garrison at Decelea might have precluded the possibility of a harvest from which aparche could be collected. "In addition to the carrying off of the yearly crops, permanent damage was done in the increased desertion of slaves, in the driving off of herds of beasts of burden, in, possibly, a more extensive destruction of olive and other trees and in the plundering of everything worthwhile from the well-stocked Attic farms, even to the tiles of the houses—a thoroughgoing type of devastation which was, probably, rare in Greek warfare."[14]

In contrast, Hanson has argued that the damage inflicted by the Peloponnesians with their occupation of Decelea was "severe but only temporary damage"—mostly to movable property, with little actual permanent destruction

[13] Cavaignac 41.

[14] W. G. Hardy, "Hellenica Oxyrhynchia and Devastation of Attica," *CP* 21 (1926) 353.

of agriculture. Citing Thucydides (7.27.5), he noted, however, that "unlike the earlier Archidamian invasions, the Peloponnesians were now able to stop many citizens from farming while they overran the countryside plundering and gathering supplies."[15] As a result, the Athenians were forced to import from Euboea the vast majority of their food supplies at considerable cost.[16]

Thus, while the figure listed here may represent a few or many years, because we are ignorant of how much aparche was collected and how it was disposed at this time, or whether any could be collected at all during the Peloponnesian occupation of Decelea, we can safely conjecture only that it is a figure which probably had not increased over the past several years.

7 III Αἰγιναῖοι

The source of such a small amount of Aiginetan coinage belonging to the sanctuary is unknown. Ferguson's[17] view that the "foreign coins ... had come in, we may suppose, as tribute or gifts, and also in the form of bullion" seems valid. Such foreign coinage was presumably kept in reserve because it could be useful. This Aiginetan coinage and the silver listed in the line following should be distinguished from the aparche, for neither was probably derived from the sale of the aparche in Athens.

8-9 ἀργυρίο ἐπισέμο

TTP HHΔΔ HHIIIIC

Two talents 5223 drachmas 4 1/2 obols is the sum recorded under coined silver (ἀργυρίο ἐπισέμο). This figure is significantly lower than that recorded under the same rubric in IG I³ 385, a fragment of an account-inventory similar to IG I³ 386-387, but of unspecified date, where the coined silver is 90 talents 1400 drachmas (P ΔΔΔΔ XHHHH----). The editors of IG I³ date IG I³ 385 to the period preceding the Decelean war, perhaps nearer to the peace of Nicias, because of the significant sum recorded there.

The difference between the two figures listed under the same rubric in these two documents separated by an unknown number of years can be explained simply by the occurrence of some major building project at Eleusis between the time of I³ 385 and I³ 386. Clinton[18] regarded I³ 385 as "good evidence ... for

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[15] V. D. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (Pisa 1983) 128.

[16] For further discussion of this last point, see H. D. Westlake, "Athenian Food Supplies from Euboea," *CR* 62 (1948) 2-5. For a complete review of the issue of Athenian grain production and the necessity of importing grain, see now P. D. A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988).

[17] Ferguson 22.

[18] Clinton, *Telesterion* 261, n. 27.

building activity at Eleusis in the years ca. 420. In IG I^3 385 the sanctuary possessed over 90 talents in silver coin. Thus it had the capability of sustaining a substantial project, and it is most likely that the source of this money was the state, and its purpose, construction." He suggested that either the Porch of the Telesterion or the Eleusinian Treasury might have been under construction at this time.

Since no archeological evidence exists for a building project, which, along with this inscription, must be dated to the 420s, some other alternatives might be considered as well. If the expenditure should be associated with a major building project, then the building of the Telesterion, which Clinton placed most plausibly in late 440s or early 430s, immediately comes to mind. This would, however, require a date far different from that normally given to IG I^3 385, which may be in the same hand as IG I^3 386/387.

Cavaignac[19] inferred from the lack of dedications recorded in I^3 386-387 that a large scale building project towards which all resources were directed was underway in 408/7. This hypothesis is undercut by the absence of a substantial number of building materials in these two accounts which would confirm such a project.

The extant portion of I^3 385 preceding the 90 plus talents (lines 1-4) corresponds with lines 65-68 of I^3 386 where we are dealing with dedications and silver at Eleusis (I^3 386.39). Because the order of the two documents is not exactly parallel, a comparison of these two sums is equally not entirely straightforward. All that can actually be deduced by a comparison of these two figures is simply that one (or possibly more than one) major expenditure occurred between the dates of the two inscriptions.

10 ΗΓΔ χρυσίο Κυζικενô σστατ̣[êρες]

The Cyzicene stater, the most important of all the electrum (i.e., the naturally occurring and artificially composed gold-silver alloy) coins and the standard currency in the area of the Black Sea and beyond, is rather common in Attic inscriptions. As G. K. Jenkins noted: "There is no need to doubt that the interests of Kyzikos and those of Athens were closely linked; it has been said that Kyzikos was the 'mint of Athens on the Propontis' and indeed it is possible to find, among the inexhaustible variety of Kyzikene staters, plenty of signs of Athenian connection."[20] The many Athenian mythological scenes which appear on Cyzicene staters and the presence of so many of these staters among Athenian

[19] Cavaignac 35.

[20] G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (New York 1972) 96. See also J. H. Kroll, *The Athenian Agora XXVI: The Greek Coins* (Princeton 1993) 257, on Cyzicene staters found in the Athenian Agora.

inventory records might suggest that during the years from 478 to 410, when Cyzicus was part of the Athenian Empire, Athens exercised control over the issuance of the Cyzicene stater. In fact, Athens' attempt to regulate weights, measures, and coinage was aimed only at silver coinage[21] and was not completely successful at that. Thus, the presence of such substantial numbers of Cyzicene staters here, and elsewhere in Attic accounts, should simply be seen as evidence of the fact that they were one of the standard currencies, along with the Daric stater and the Attic drachma, during the period from 600 to 330 B.C.

Cyzicus began minting staters on the Phocaeic standard (c. 16.5 g) by the first quarter of the sixth century. The electrum coinage of Cyzicus, and other cities in Asia Minor, with its wide variety of types (over 200 for Cyzicus in the course of two centuries), rarity of any inscription and insignificance of mint mark is contrasted by Kraay[22] with silver coinage (also issued by these cities) which prominently displayed names or badges, showed possession by the issuing body of citizens with an ethnic in the genitive and was likely to be used for official transactions within the borders. While this might suggest a preference for silver coinage, Cyzicene staters were widely accepted currency throughout Thrace, the Black Sea, Ionia and in Athens as seen by their appearance in widely dispersed hoards.

The issue of the equivalence of the Cyzicene electrum stater with the gold Daric stater has been much debated. Kraay[23] posited that they were simply coinage of similar value, perhaps because they were both equal to one month's pay for a mercenary. Bogaert[24] initially challenged Heichelheim's, and now Guépin's, view that the Cyzicene stater was equivalent to the Daric stater, even though the gold content of the Cyzicene stater varied from 26 percent to 56 percent, with many over 50 percent. He concluded that the Cyzicene stater was more valuable than the Daric: specifically, in mid-fifth century Athens, the Daric was equivalent to 26 drachmas while the Cyzicene was valued at 28 drachmas.[25]

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[21] See R. Meiggs & D. Lewis (*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1988)) no. 45, p. 113), who state that electrum was exempt from Athens' coinage regulation.

[22] Kraay 27, 261-63.

[23] Kraay 262. In this view he seems to be following Guépin, see *infra* n. 25.

[24] For a complete discussion see R. Bogaert, "Le cours du statère de Cyzique aux V^{e} et IV^{e} siècles avant J.-C.," *AntCl* 32 (1963) 85-119.

[25] R. Bogaert has defended his belief in the greater value of the Cyzicene stater than the Daric stater in "Encore le cours du statère de Cyzique aux V^{e} et IV^{e} siècles avant J.C.," *AntCl* 33 (1964) 121-28 and "Le problème de Cyzicène III," *AntCl* 34 (1965) 204-13. See p. 212 for a table of values for the Cyzicene stater in the fifth and fourth centuries.

J. P. Guépin challenged Bogaert, asserting the equivalence of the Daric and Cyzicene staters

Working not from methods of metal analysis but from the prewar tribute assessment for Cyzicus and Tenedos, Meiggs argued rather convincingly that the odd figures which appear for Cyzicus and Tenedos as tribute can best be explained by an exchange rate of one Cyzicene stater to 27 Attic drachmas.[26] Although Meiggs showed that the payments can be converted into an exact number of Cyzicene staters with an exchange rate of either 24 or 27 staters, and although the difference between the two is not financially important, an exchange rate of 27 drachmas is to be preferred for two reasons. First, the Cyzicene stater should have a higher value than the Lampsacene stater, firmly fixed at 24 drachmas, because the Cyzicene is heavier. Second, an exchange rate of 27 drachmas allows "the more convincing totals" for the assessment (e.g. Cyzicus's assessment of 9 talents (the normal pre-war assessment) is equivalent to 2000 staters; part payment for 443, 4,320 dr., is equivalent to 1000 staters. Tenedos' assessment in 443 was 2 talents 5,280 dr. or 640 staters at this same exchange rate.)[27]

Given the ancients' inability at this period to determine the percentage of gold contained in any given Cyzicene stater, the popularity of that coinage seems curious to us. Rather than positing a "large scale swindle" by Cyzicus and other electrum coining states to take advantage of the differential between the coin's intrinsic value (determined by its weight/percentage of gold) and nominal value (which may overstate both the degree of variation and apprehension of such variation),[28] the popularity of the coinage can easily be explained by Cyzicus'

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in "Greek Coinage and Persian Bimetallism," *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 49 (1962) 1-19, and "Le cours du Cyzicène," *AntCl* 34 (1965) 199-203.

Both Bogaert and Guépin seem to agree that the two were equivalent, to the extent that both were equal to one month's pay for a mercenary (based on Xenophon, *Anab.* VII, 6, 29-30). Bogaert, however, insists that any Cyzicene stater with more than 50 percent gold was more valuable than the Daric stater and would have been treated as such by ancient money changers. This controversy is complicated by the modern methods of scientific analysis used to determine the percentage of gold. In addition to these articles and their sources, see also E.R. Caley, *Analysis of Ancient Metals* (Oxford 1964). How useful the precision with which we can now analyze ancient coinage is for understanding the popularity or value of Cyzicene coinage in antiquity is unclear, since these methods were clearly unknown to the ancients.

[26] R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 442-43.

[27] *Ibid.* See p. 443 for a table of correspondence between the figures with exchange rates from 24-27 drachmas.

[28] While the gold percentage of naturally occurring electrum might be difficult to determine, stability in the percentage of manufactured electrum was considered a matter of grave importance, as J. F. Healy's ("Notes on the Monetary Union between Mytilene and Phokaia," *JHS* 77 (1957) 267-68) translation of IG XII (2).I. lines 4-6 and 13-15 shows. "The official responsible for the alloying of the gold, shall, in both cities, be liable to account; Anyone found guilty of deliberately lowering the quality of the alloy shall be condemned to death."

favorable location for, and prominence in, trade. Equally attractive is Finley's thesis that the popularity of both the Cyzicene and daric stater is due to their large denomination, which would have considerably facilitated the payment of large sums.[29]

11-12 ΡΔΔΓ⊢⊢⊢ καρχέσια ἀργυρᾶ : Γ : σταθμ[ὸν τούτον]
Boardman translated Athenaeus (474e), who records the description of a karchesion offered by Kallixenos of Rhodes (third century B.C.), thus: "a tall cup, slightly contracted at the middles with handles which extend down to the base."[30]

That these καρχέσια and the three ποτέρια which are listed in the next line are weighed as well as numbered gives support to Linder's[31] contention that these two items are recorded here as capital rather than simply as dedicatory or utilitarian objects. Their location along with the minted coinage on the Acropolis seems to support this as well. See also I³ (p. 318) *conspectus traditionum Hekatompedi*, (7) and (8), and I³ 323.53 where other καρχέσια ἀργυρᾶ are listed. Whereas the weight of the silver karchesion appearing in the Parthenon lists is 199 drachmas (I³ 339.8; 342.13-14), the present karchesia average only 141 drachmas 3 obols.[32]

12 ποτέρια : III : σταθμὸν τού[τον]

For a recent review of past attempts to explain the origin of early electrum coinage along with a not altogether convincing attempt to explain electrum coinage as an effort to stabilize the market value of that alloy, see R. W. Wallace, "The Origin of Electrum Coinage," *AJA* 91 (1987) 385-97. The view linking the development of coinage with the rise of tyrants and the need for a means of payment for mercenaries (hence the rough equivalence of these different coinages developed at different places and times) seems intuitively more acceptable than Wallace's theory. See R. M. Cook, "Speculations on the Origins of Coinage," *Historia* 7 (1958) 257-62 who "inferred that coinage was invented to make a large number of uniform payments of considerable value in a portable and durable form .... [and] that the purpose of coinage was the payment of mercenaries."

[29] M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley 1985) 167-68. Finley recounts that in Demosthenes' (27.58) lawsuit against his guardians, Demosthenes reminded the jury of the fact that Theogenes counted out a payment of 3000 drachmas before witnesses. Finley noted how lengthy a process this would have been with four-drachma pieces (which would have required 750 coins), especially if the weight or purity of any of these pieces was challenged.

[30] For a complete discussion of the karchesion and its association with scenes involving Herakles, see J. Boardman, "The Karchesion of Herakles," *JHS* 99 (1979) 149-51.

[31] Linders, *Treasurers* 25-29.

[32] See Harris 285-305 and Harris (1995) 47-61, 66-76, 91-99, 117-163, for a discussion of silver vessels appearing in the Parthenon inventories. See also Aleshire 153, for those related to the cult of Asklepios.

The weight given for these three ποτέρια, 445 drachmas or 148 each, is of course the same in both 386 and 387.

14 ἐν τôι 'Ελευσινίοι τôι ἐν ἄσ[τει]

The Eleusinion, at the southeast corner of the Agora, is referred to here as "in the city" to distinguish it from the sanctuary at Eleusis and from other Attic Eleusinia.[33] That the term must here refer to the whole sanctuary seems clear from the list of items which follows, not all of which would be appropriate for placement in a temple structure. The Eleusinion was a large enclosure, according to the ancient testimonia, and probably contained many structures. The excavations so far have revealed at least one small temple, an altar as well as some additional monuments, all inside the area bounded by the enclosure wall uncovered on the west. Frazer translated Pausanias (τὸ 'Αθήνηȣιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ 'Ελευσίνιον (1.14.3)) as "the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinion" and commented that "nothing could be more appropriate than that an Eleusinium should include temples of Demeter, Persephone and Triptolemus."[34] Pausanias' description (and Frazer's interpretation of it) support the contention that here the term refers to the sanctuary complex at Athens. With the full area of the sanctuary not yet determined, it is quite possible that a treasury, storage buildings, and additional temples may yet be uncovered.

Some of the more precious items listed beneath this rubric would probably have been housed in either a temple or treasury building, while the implements listed in lines 21-38 under the rubric σκεύε ἐν τôι 'Ελευσινίοι would have been stored outdoors within the enclosure. Rubensohn[35] found it difficult to believe that the review session following the Greater Mysteries took place in the open air. Yet the description of the meeting of the Boule in the Eleusinion provided by Andokides (1.111) suggests an area rather than a particular building: οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις προσάξειν ἔφασαν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, ἐπαγγεῖλαί τ' ἐκέλευον ἐμοί τε καὶ Κηφισίῳ παρεῖναι εἰς τὸ 'Ελευσίνιον. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ ἐκεῖ καθεδεῖσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἕδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ 'Ελευσινίῳ. Thus it is to the city sanctuary as a whole that this rubric refers.

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[33] H. A. Thompson and R. G. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora XIV: The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 150-55. See also M. M. Miles, "The Temple of Triptolemos in the City Eleusinion," *AJA* 86 (1982) 276, on the excavation.

[34] *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, translated with a commentary by J. G. Frazer (London 1898) II. 119.

[35] Rubensohn 6.

Shear[36] was surely incorrect when he stated that "the material described as σκεύε ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι (lines 20-38) ... was stored in the Telesterion itself, in the most sacred building of the sanctuary," for the epistatai have not yet proceeded to Eleusis but are still occupied with the inventory of the property housed in the City Eleusinion. Shear used this assemblage of equipment and its location in the Eleusinion, which he identified as the Telesterion, as further proof for his argument that the Telesterion remained unfinished in 408/7. While other evidence, i.e., some of the building material listed later in the document, might confirm Shear's analysis of the state of building at Eleusis in the late fifth century, this most certainly does not.

Thus the epigraphical and literary evidence taken together support the view that the term τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον here refers to the sanctuary complex where the items listed would have been housed, each in its appropriate place.

15 φιάλε ἀργυρâ πρὸς τôι [τοῖχοι] Phiale, a plate-like vessel without a foot or handle whose depth is greater than a plate but less than a bowl,[37] is the shape most commonly associated with pouring libations. Unlike many other common vessel shapes, phialai were frequently of metal.

Silver phialai (in contrast to other silver vessels) are noticeably absent from the fourth century Parthenon inventory lists whereas the fifth century inventories list numerous phialai in gold and silver.[38] This is the clearest evidence that silver phialai were the objects melted down at the end of the Peloponnesian War. In an article chiefly concerned with the physical appearance of silver objects, Boardman noted the general prevalence of silver, much of which was in the form phialai, in the fifth century. He assumed that "much of this silver would have been coined or kept as convenient bullion, for which the phiale shape may well have recommended itself—easily stacked, yet if need be usable (the shape is not a normal one for symposia but for ritual, unlike eastern and Persian practice; and recall how wealth in iron had been kept in spits). Phialai, metal or clay, rarely carry figure decoration. Texts and inscriptions reveal that the phiale is one of the commonest shapes in silver, yet it is very rare in clay, whether black or decorated."[39]

This silver phiale is described as πρὸς τôι [τοῖχοι]: affixed to the wall.

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[36] Shear, *Projects* 210.

[37] M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece* (St. Lucia 1984) 116.

[38] Harris 356 and Harris (1995) 114. See generally Harris 292-316 (discussing silver objects in the inventories). Harris (1995), 27-35, now notes the appearance of twenty new silver hydriai by 401/0, which suggests that even if the Athenians borrowed from them, the inventories were being immediately replenished.

[39] "Silver is White," *RA* (1987) 289.

Dedications which are affixed to walls are also found in inventory records of Artemis Brauronia (IG II^2 1514.23-33) and Delos (ID 1442B56). Linders[40] noted that objects affixed to a wall or a column were usually not weighed because it was inconvenient to remove them, e.g. II^2 1517.43ff.

That this dedicatory vessel (φιάλη), which is affixed to the wall, follows directly after the rubric locating these items ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι τοῖ ἐν ἄστει does not provide evidence that a particular building must be implied by the term τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. The wall to which the φιάλη was affixed was probably well known to the officials involved. One would assume that the more precious items listed in lines 15-19 were kept in a location different from that of the more utilitarian items which appear in lines 21-38, yet both are designated as ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι. Thus the rubric indicates an area containing several structures with the precise location of the items in question known to the officials in charge. The order in which the epistatai list the items in their inventory undoubtedly mirrors the path which they followed in the process; but this does not allow us to identify particular structures in the Eleusinion.

16 ὑποδερὶς χρυσε͂ "Necklace" (*LSJ*). So Pollux (5.98): τὰ δὲ περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ οὑτωσὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν περιτραχήλια καὶ περιδέραια καὶ δέραια καὶ ὑποδέραια καὶ ὑποδερίδες....

μελ--- Possible restorations include: μελαγγραφής, "marked with black"; μελαμπαγής, "black, discolored"; and μελάνδετος, "bound or mounted with black", i.e., iron. μέλαινα also seems possible as a restoration for this attribute of the "golden necklace." I could find no evidence, however, for "black gold."

17 κέρχνοι = κέρνοι according to *LSJ* who cite only IG I^3 386-387 as examples. See also Threatte, 38.211 8 for examples of aspiration extended to adjacent syllables.

Until recently, the identification of κέρχνοι with κέρνοι had been assumed (witness *LSJ*, *inter alia*). The kernos is described by both Athenaeus (11.476f) and Polemon (quoted by Athenaeus) as "an earthenware vessel, holding within it a large number of small cups stuck together." Polemon, according to Athenaeus, listed the contents of these small cups as "white poppy seeds, grains of wheat, barley, peas, vetches, okra-seeds, and lentils." Athenaeus revised Polemon's list when he quoted from the latter's treatise *On the Fleece of Zeus*. Here he adds to the former list "sage, beans, rice-wheat, compressed fruit, honey, oil, wine, milk, and sheep's wool unwashed." Mylonas[41] described the find of vessels fitting Athenaeus and Polemon's description, along with other

[40] Linders, *AB* 37.

[41] Mylonas 221-22, fig. 87.

vessels which had either only tiny, symbolic cups or no cups at all. Rejecting the identification of these vessels as incense burners because of the lack of any trace of fire, Mylonas concluded that "apparently the vessels were used to hold a variety of cereals, representing a *panspermia*, that were offered to the Goddess by the initiates in a service known as *kernophoria*; the worshippers could later partake of these cereals in remembrance of her benevolence to humanity and with the belief that they shared with the Goddess her bounty. In later years, kernoi of votive character were apparently made to be dedicated to the Goddess and often these were made of marble or with symbolic little cups attached to the body of the vessel."

Linders[42] recently rejected this equation and suggested instead that these κέρχνοι (and those mentioned in other temple inventories) were small ornaments, perhaps pendants, formed by granules or decorated with granulation. The basis of Linders' objections to the traditional identification with the ritual Eleusinian vessels is twofold: first, the failure of this view to explain the intrusive chi. More significant, though, is the presence of these kerchnoi in the context of a necklace, an ivory box and two gold rings. She thus concluded that these kerchnoi must too be "personal ornaments." Other examples of kerchnoi from the Asklepieion inventories (II² 1533.19-20) as well as from Delian inventories (ID 80-81) lend support to her rejection of these κέρχνοι as ritual vessels. One kerchnos from the Asklepieion is provided with a chain and weighs 7 obols (approximately 5 grams); another is mounted on a tablet. The Delian kerchnoi are listed with their weights, 1 1/2 obols, or approximately 1 gram—a weight far too small for any vessel. Citing a passage of Demetrius Ephesius quoted by Athenaeus (12.525DE) which describes Persian garments decorated with kegchroi of gold, Linders argued that kerchnos or kerchnion represent jewelry in the shape of beads or grains, probably shaped as clusters of granules resembling a raspberry.

Pollitt, in an earlier article, "Kernoi from the Athenian Agora,"[43] offered a complete review of the literary testimonia as well as the archaeological evidence available from the Agora excavations. He noted one remarkable feature of these kernoi, namely the great variation found in their size, a characteristic which might be seen as a possible objection to Linders' theory. Brommer[44] has decisively demonstrated that the vessels lacking kotyliskoi should not be identified as kernoi; rather he has shown them to be plemochoai, the vessel from

[42] T. Linders, "Kerchnos and Kerchnion—not kernos but granulation," *OpAth* 17 (1988) 229-30.

[43] *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 205-33.

[44] F. Brommer ("Plemochoe," *AA* (1980) 544-49) offers a complete discussion of plemochoe and how this vessel was conflated with the kernos.

which, according to Athenaeus (11.496a), the last day of the Mysteries takes its name. Thus Pollitt's kernoi which lack kotyliskoi are plemochoai and not kernoi.

In any case (and variation in size notwithstanding), Linders identification is preferable. The location here (and elsewhere) among jewelry, and the fact that they are weighed (and at so low a weight) in the instances where a weight is given, seems decisive. Linders' description of these pieces of jewelry as "pieces of grain, small seeds," reveals a thematic similarity to the kernos itself which was designed to hold small grains. The suitability of grains, whether in the form of jewelry dedicated to Demeter and Kore, or in a votive vessel offered to Demeter and Kore, is clear.

18 κιβότιον ἐλεφάντιν[ον]
κιβότιον is the diminutive of κιβωτός and as such can be taken to mean "small box"; "that which is like a box" or simply "box," irrespective of size. It appears frequently in inscriptions from Delos as well as in the Attic stelai (IG I^2 330.20). The κιβότιον in Delos seems to have been a fairly small box used to store gold ornaments, crowns and rings and glass cups. Citing this line in IG I^3 387, Pritchett commented that "like the ordinary kibotos, the smaller box was usually of wood but might also be of ivory or metal." While there has been some question whether the κιβωτός was opened from the top or by vertical doors, it seems certain that the κιβότιον was opened from the top. This κιβότιον is entirely of ivory, unlike the majority of items found inventoried from the Parthenon where ivory was chiefly used as an inlay in furniture.[45]

19 δακτυλίο χρυσὸ δύο The two δακτυλίο listed here must be rings or signets, given the material.

Lines 15-19 The absence of weights for these items (with the exception of the phiale attached to the wall, which was not weighed due to convenience) suggests that these items should be viewed as votives, not capital. Their absence from later Hekatompedon lists confirms their status as dedications. Clinton[46] has shown by comparison of IG I^3 386-387 with II^2 1401 and 1400 that the majority of the precious items listed in 386-387 had been transferred to the Hekatompedon by that time in the fourth century. Only those with the least value (e.g. seven bronze κώθονες and sealstones were not (IG I^3 386.52-55; II^2

[45] See W. K. Pritchett's commentary on κιβωτός in "The Attic Stelai II" in *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 220-25, for further bibliography and commentary. See Harris 250-57 and Harris (1995) 115-200, for a discussion of ivory items found in the Parthenon records.

[46] Clinton, *Treasures* 57-58.

1542.18 and 1544.54)). The transfers took place over the course of several years but did not include the dedications at Eleusis or, apparently, the dedications at the City Eleusinion.

Clinton hypothesized either that the *epistatai Eleusinothen* ceased to exist after 406 until 360 and the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν were in charge of the sanctuary, or, that the epistatai remained in charge of the sanctuary's administration on a day to day level as subordinates to the tamiai.[47] A transfer to the Acropolis of items regarded as capital is perfectly plausible under either scenario. Clinton noted that the fate of the capital assets already on the Acropolis and at the City Eleusinion is unknown. "Whether Eleusinian assets stored *on the Acropolis* and *in the City Eleusinion* were so gathered in [along with capital from Eleusis] is a more difficult question," for 386-387 shows only that funds were transferred in the form of loans.

20 σκεύε ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι The meaning of the rubric ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι has been discussed above (line 14). σκεύε should be defined as tools or equipment for the maintenance operations of the cult and materials for building and maintenance.

21-22 Wagon

From the items which are listed in this part of the inventory, it is possible to derive a fairly clear picture of the wheeled cart or wagon in use here in the late fifth century.

The wagon or cart was four-wheeled (line 24-τετρακύκλο; line 26-χσύλα ἐς τροχὸς τετρακύκλο). Axles joined the wheels. Given the number of axles (two large and two small, line 25), it seems preferable to suppose one axle joined two wheels (i.e., one axle linked the two front wheels and one linked the two rear wheels), rather than one axle per wheel, as is pictured in Raepsaet's and Vanhove's wagons (for which, see below). Since axles in two sizes are listed, we can further infer carts or wagons of two different sizes, rather than assume the use of different sized axles on the same vehicle (as some method by which the front of the wagon might be turned laterally).

The poles (ρρυμοί) would have served to link the wagon to the oxen and would have served to join the two axles (front to rear). This latter use would have aided the stability of the vehicle considerably. Some of these poles are described as iron-clad or iron-shod. This iron reinforcement or collar would likely have been for greater durability at the point of juncture of the pole to the axle. It is possible that of the two types of ρρυμοί, forked and straight (unforked), the forked ones joined the wagon to the harnessed oxen while the

[47] The second possibility seems the more likely. See above, Chapter One.

unforked ones joined the front and rear axles.

The wheels themselves are not described, so we do not know if they were still made of three pieces of wood, or already spoked at this time. In either case, iron bands (line 36-κατάδεσμα σιδερᾶ) encircled the wheels, again for greater durability.

The exact identification of the χάλικες σιδεραῖ (line 37) is not clear. One explanation, given the nature of the other items listed in this section, would associate these "iron pebbles" with some means whereby the wheel was attached to the axle, i.e., either as pins or wedges which would secure wooden pins. While this might seem like an unlikely interpretation of χάλικες ("pebbles"), the only part of the cart which is obviously lacking from this list is the piece by which the wheel is attached to the axle.

If they are not to be associated specifically with the cart, the χάλικες σιδεραῖ are most probably lumps of iron, i.e., blooms of iron, which would be the processed raw material from which basic iron working could be performed at the sanctuary. *Cf.* IG II^2 1424a.286-287 where χάλικες σιδηραῖ are followed by θερμαύστεις. Since θερμαστρίς is a "tong used by smiths to take hold of hot metal" (*LSJ*), it is tempting to equate the two terms (as *LSJ* Supplement does, citing *SEG* 13.12.96-98). If these χάλικες σιδεραῖ are blooms of iron, then we have here an indication of iron-working technology at the sanctuary. This suggests another explanation for the hides inventoried here (lines 34 and 123). In order to achieve the higher temperatures required for slagging iron ores to produce the bloom of metal (from which objects could actually be made), bellows were used to increase the air flow. From Homer on, bellows are consistently described as being made from ox-hides.[48]

Lines 21-22 list ρρυμοί. Note the gemination of rho, a characteristic of this inscription. The ρρυμοί are differentiated by the terms σεσιδερομένοι and ἀσιδέροτοι. ρρυμός appears again in lines 28-29 where the objects in question are described respectively as ρρυμὸς δίκρος σεσιδερομένος and ἀσιδέροτος δίκρος. Although the exact definition of ῥυμός may not be immediately clear from the attributes supplied here, their association with the other items listed in this section can only suggest that ῥυμός is a carriage-pole, as *LSJ* defines ῥυμός, or more properly here, a wagon-pole.

Raepsaet[49] offered for ῥυμός the definitions of pole (timon) or shaft for harnessing (flèche d'attelage). He qualified these definitions further by

[48] For the most complete description of ancient metalworking, see J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978). For a discussion of θέρμαυστις and related words, see D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 219-21.

[49] "Transport de tambours de colonnes du Pentélique à Éleusis au IV^e siècle avant notre ère," *AntCl* 53 (1984) 101-36.

associating ῥυμός principally with traces, i.e., ἀρτέματα. To move a vehicle by means of an external source of energy, i.e., an animal, it is necessary to have an intermediate element by which the source of energy is linked with what needs to be moved. Hence, the ἀρτέματα which could be either rigid or flexible. The system in use in the Greco-Roman world was a pole and yoke, themselves rigid, with the pole providing the means of direction.

Nothing from their description or their context here suggests associating these ἀρτέματα with weighing devices, as D. B. Thompson does.[50] Attempting to understand this term in connection with the Golden Nikai, Thompson reasoned thus: the ἀρτέματα in line 33 are hanging objects (the basis of this identification is unclear). She then cited Aristotle's *Mechanics* (853b20) to show the connection with weighing. "Thus we see that ἀρτέματα are the counterpoise weights that run along steelyards and that ῥυμοί are the yards, made of wood and in certain cases strengthened with iron." Dealing here with wagons in this section of the inventory, it seems much simpler to assume that ῥυμός is a wagon-pole.

The number of ironclad wagon poles listed here is 51, clearly a substantial number, though not necessarily surprising considering the wide variety of uses there would have been for wheeled vehicles as well as the apparent susceptibility of carriage/wagon poles in antiquity to break, given the nature of ancient roads and the loads being carried.[51]

The numbers restored for both the ρρυμοὶ σεσιδερομένοι 51 (𐅄Γ|) and ρρυμοὶ ἀσιδέροτοι 11 (Δ|) can be regarded as fairly secure on the basis of IG I³ 387.11-12.

23 κεράμο ζεύγε καιν[ὰ : ΔΔΔΔ||] 42 pairs of tiles.
Based on an examination of Delian inscriptions dealing with roof tiles, Larsen explained that "the material bought is commonly described as κεράμου ζεύγη ... or κεραμίδων ζεύγη .... The two expressions appear synonymous, the second certainly means pairs of tiles and κεραμίδες suggests single tiles, as is further shown by the record of the purchase of one κεραμός.... The habit of purchasing tiles by pairs was due to the practice of combining in construction two types of tiles: pan tiles and cover tiles, which covered the edges of the pan tiles."[52]

These two classes—cover and pan tiles—do not encompass all types of tiles (i.e., ridge tiles, sima tiles as well as tiles with antefixes or akroteria, for example, are not covered by these terms); nevertheless, these two types of tiles

[50] "The Golden Nikai Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 186.

[51] *DarSag* 1637.

[52] "The Price of Tiles at Delos from 210 to 180 B.C.," *CP* 36 (1941) 158.

would have covered the majority, by percentage, of tiles needed for the average job. Keramides is less commonly used for tiles in general than for pan tiles, at least in the Delian inscriptions. When cover tiles are listed separately the term used is καλυπτῆρες. Later in this same document, the tiles taken down from the Archaic T elesterion are described in this same way (κεράμο ζεύγε, see below, lines 103-104). One might assume, therefore, that the pan and cover tiles were cast in one piece, but the archaeological evidence quite definitely shows that this was not the case. Thus we can conclude that they were referred to in this way because they were typically purchased in pairs not because they were always cast in one piece.[53]

That these new (καινά) tiles are listed between carriage/wagon-poles and other pieces of equipment relating to transport seems to indicate that the organization of these inventories was primarily by location, although probably still grouped by kind. This type of organization can be found elsewhere (IG II^2 1540-52; 1672; 1673).

24 ἄμπρον "Rope for drawing loads" (*LSJ*). *Cf.* IG II^2 1551.6-7: τετράκυκλο καὶ ἄμπρα.

τετρακύκ[λο καινό]

Vanhove[54] has argued decisively against Raepsaet's reconstruction of a six wheeled vehicle as the means by which Pentelic marble was transported to Eleusis (II^2 1673) and his assessment of a four-wheeled vehicle as being too "fragile." In Vanhove's view, a four-wheeled vehicle is sufficiently substantial to transport Pentelic marble. Its appearance here, without a specific purpose designated, further demonstrates its versatility and suitability for general use. Moreover, the terminology used here (τετρακύκλο) is clearly in favor of a four-wheeled vehicle.

25 ἄχσονε μεγάλο : II : ἄ[χσονε σμικρὸ : II]

These were axles used in the vehicles of transport just mentioned. The two different sized axles listed here are evidence for the existence of different sized carts/wagons, rather than evidence for a more sophisticated vehicle which would have had different sized wheels front and rear, thus requiring different sized axles on the same wagon. Since the axles are listed here in pairs, it seems most probable that each pair went with a wagon. While the axles are present in two sizes, the wheels, grouped in sets of four, are not. For a more detailed

[53] *Cf.* Martin 65-66.

[54] D. Vanhove, "A propos d'un chariot servant à transporter le marbre," *AntCl* 56 (1987) 284-89.

discussion of wheels as well as ancient transportation, see also Polge[55] who noted that two types of wheel/axle systems were in use in antiquity: the free wheel/fixed axle which permitted easy turning and the fixed wheel/free axle common to wagons which were used for heavier loads. We can conclude that ancient wheeled transportation was neither as limited nor as primitive as earlier writers on the subject frequently stated.

The use of the *paragraphos* here in line 25 might indicate that the objects listed in lines 21-25 are to be taken together, or were at least stored in the same area. Certainly this is true of the use of the *paragraphos* in line 27, since lines 26-27 must be taken together. After these last two lines, however, the inventory returns to wagon-poles.

26-27 χσύλα ἐς τροχὸ[ς τετρακύκλο..]
πτελέϊνα : Δ III : μ[ελέϊνα..]

The wheel evolved early on from one composed of three planks joined by a cross-strut to one consisting of four spokes, tipped with iron at each end on the outside, which were then fixed in the outer rim (ἰτύς), formed from four or more arcs of a flexible wood (ἀψῖδες) and curved with the assistance of heat. These wooden arcs were bound by an iron tire. The spokes were fixed in the nave (πλήμνη) of the wheel on the inside. The axle passed through the nave of the wheel and was prevented from slipping off by a flat ring kept in place by the linch pin.[56] The absence of specific mention of spokes for these wheels here would tend to confirm their three-part structure as shown in both Raepsaet's[57] and Vanhove's[58] drawings. Neither offers any specific evidence, archeological or epigraphical, to support their depiction of one axle per wheel. While this construction might offer some turning advantage in principal, in fact this advantage would be lost on the scale of wagon depicted. One has only to imagine trying to maneuver something the size of a hay wagon with the type of mechanism used on modern grocery carts to appreciate its lack of suitability here.

The wood used in the manufacture of wheels for a vehicle such as that described above is listed here. Elm (πτελέα) is one of the woods chosen for the wheels of the τετρακύκλο. Theophrastus (*HP* 3.14.1) describes the wood of the elm as: τὸ δὲ ξύλον ξανθὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ εὔινον καὶ γλίσχρον· ἅπαν γὰρ

[55] "Techniques et promotions de la roue," *ArcheologiaPar* 23 (1968) 10-15; 82-85.

[56] *DarSag* 578.

[57] Raepsaet (*supra*, n. 49) 14.

[58] Vanhove (*supra*, n. 54) 287.

καρδία. Meiggs[59] distinguished elm from the many other types of wood found in temple commissioners' accounts, noting that elm was "valued mainly for its strength, liable to twist, but very firm when seasoned." It was most commonly used for doors, chosen as the primary wood for their framework, pivots, posts, lintels, and sometimes the doors themselves. Elm sanides appear in the Eleusinian account from 329/8 (II² 1672.151,152,156, and 168).

μ[ελέϊνα...] seems a plausible restoration here where the inventory is concerned with wood. The wood of the ash is easy to work. Its use for thresholds and doors is attested from Homeric times.[60] Ash, because it is easy to work, seems a more logical choice for wheels than elm, which is more difficult to work, although Theophrastus says elm is easy to cut when green. Ash, the wood from which Achilles' spear was made (*Iliad* 16.143), would seem suitable for wheels because of its strength, as Meiggs[61] noted. He remarked that it was "especially suitable for the spear because it is strong, but flexible and withstands the shock of impact: that is why it is still used for oars, hockey sticks and cricket bats." In IG II² 1672.155 ash is used for door frames and the panels of doors (σανίδες μελίναι τρεῖς εἰς κανονῖδας καὶ ζυγὰ ταῖς θύραις). Elsewhere ash is used for door levers (μοχλὸν ποιῆσαι μέλινον)[62] and chariot poles (II² 1672.307: ῥυμεῖϊα μελέϊνα μονόβολα). The frequent appearance of ash in other Eleusinian inscriptions offers additional support for its restoration here.

28 ρρυμὸς δίκρο[ς σεσιδερομένος : I]
The poles for wagons listed here are forked in contrast to those listed above which were not forked. These forked poles were also of two types, those of iron, i.e., iron-clad, and those that were not. The forked wagon-poles here would correspond to one illustrated on a black figure vase where the carriage/wagon-pole is shown forked at the point of its attachment to the axle as well as above where it joined the yoke.[63]

29 [ἀ]σιδέροτο[ς δίκρος : I] another wagon-pole. This is forked (δίκρος) like the preceding one, but not iron-clad. Restoration of δίκρος is confirmed by 387.36.

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[59] Meiggs 426.

[60] Orlandos I, 16.

[61] Meiggs 110.

[62] K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusiniaka* I (Athens 1932) 190.

[63] A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, 1927, no. 3, pl. IX; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 202. "Ce sont probablement ces fourchons placés à la tête que Hesychius appelle δικροῦν." (*DarSag* 1637).

From line 30 we are missing fifteen lines, nearly all of which can be restored on the basis of the text which is preserved in IG I³ 387. The objects restored here in this section of 386 will be discussed here.

30 .....[11]....ια : ι] We have no indication from either text of what item appeared here.

31-32 [σερὰ καινὲ πέχεον : ΓΔΔ]
[σερὰ καινὲ πέχεον : ΓΔ]
σειρά is a rope or cord. The measurement is given by πῆχυς, which is equal to a foot and a half, or 0.492 m.[64] We have here two lengths of rope, one ten cubits longer than the other.

33 [ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς : ΔΔΔΔ ι] a cord or cords (traces) of some type. To take these ἀρτέματα as forming part of a vehicle of transportation, along with the wagon-poles, seems preferable to the interpretation of them as cords for the suspension of counterweights, despite the passage in Aristotle's *Mechanics* (853a34). See above on ρρυμός, lines 21-22. The ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς could be used to fasten the pole to the axle or, more probably, to fasten the pole to the yoke. An illustration of the use of cords with the pole and at the wheel is seen on a black figure vase,[65] but this seems an unlikely means of attachment of wheels to axle in the fifth century. See below, on line 37, for an alternative explanation of the means by which the wheels and axles could have been attached.

34 [βύρσαι Σικελικαὶ : ΔΓ III] skin, oxhide.
W. Habermann[66] examined in detail the eighteen Sicilian hides which appear here in the inventory. The two major interpretations of their use, for cult purposes, or more simply for a utilitarian transportation use, are discussed. Habermann noted that the hides would have been useful in transportation for their protective value (especially during the Peloponnesian War). Because he concluded from IG I³ 79 that we have no real basis from which to posit the use of wagons in the cult in the fifth century and because these hides appear under the rubric σκεύε (with no other apparently cultic items), Habermann preferred the more utilitarian association, viz. with transportation. Although one of our

[64] Orlandos I, 22 n. 4. See also Meiggs, p. 478, and Ginouvès/Martin, p. 76, for a discussion of variation in how the πῆχυς was measured.

[65] *DarSag* 1637, *ABV* p. 264, iv.2; *CVA* pl. 35,4,&7.

[66] "IG I³ 386/387, sizilische Häute und die Athenisch-sizilischen Handelsbeziehungen in 5 Jahrh.v.Chr," *MBAH* 6, 1 (1987) 89-113.

main ancient sources (IG II^2 1673) on ancient transport does not mention hides, Habermann suggested that hides could have served as protection, possibly as shock absorbers, to prevent damage to column drums during their transport by wagon or sledge.

While all the questions which this entry raises cannot be answered, there can be no doubt that the Sicilian origin of these hides is important (simply because they are so identified). Whether certain characteristics are associated with hides from Sicily or whether their Sicilian origin alone is the critical factor is not known. Hides are listed below in line 123 without further qualifiers.

Another use for oxhides, Sicilian or not, is suggested by the χάλικες σιδεραῖ in line 37. Oxhides were used for bellows, an essential piece of equipment in metal-working in general and in iron-working in particular.[67] Of all the metals, iron requires a high temperature (1150 degrees Centigrade) in order for the metal to be separated from the gangue in the slagging process. The use of bellows to increase air flow made it possible to achieve temperatures in this range without excessive use of charcoal. See also line 107 where glue is suggested as yet another use for hides.

35 [ἰχσῶ : Τ : καὶ στατῆρες : ΓΙΙΙ] ἰξός, any sticky substance (*LSJ*, where the appearance of the aspirate in 387.42 is noted; Threatte (p. 495) thinks h here is probably etymologically correct.) In discussing IG II^2 1672.63, Clinton[68] took ἰξός to be "bird-lime" which may have been used in that instance to alleviate a bothersome or contaminating stench remaining after the cleaning or purification of the deposits left at Hecate's shrines. Habermann,[69] on the other hand, associated ἰξός with fireproofing material, citing Tacitus (34.1), Theophrastus (*Ign.* 6) and Pliny (33.94).

36 [κατάδεσμα σιδερᾶ : ΓΙΙΙ] κατάδεσμα = κατάδεσμος (*LSJ*). κατάδεσμος is a tie or band, here of iron. These iron bands were most probably used around the outside of the wooden wheels to make them less susceptible to damage while rolling over rough roads. Less likely would have been their use as a means of fastening the axles to the wheels or the wagon-poles to the wagon or axles. With eight listed, it seems likely that we have either two sets (at one band per wheel) or equally likely one set, if two bands were used per wheel.

37 [χάλικες σιδεραῖ : ΓΙΙΙ] χάλιξ is a small stone: used collectively it can

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[67] Healy 193-95. For a detailed description of the process of iron working in antiquity, see especially pp. 182-83.

[68] Clinton, *Inscriptions* 102.

[69] Habermann (*supra*, n. 66) 91, n. 12.

mean gravel or rubble. Because they are listed here as iron and grouped among other items related to transportation, it seems likely that we have the processed raw material, iron, in lump (bloom) form which could have been heated and then beaten or possibly cast into the desired shape. See discussion above, on lines 21-22.

Another possible use of iron lumps would be for so-called hot rivets, i.e., heated and beaten in place to form, basically, a nail, a fastener. What distinguishes the hot-rivet from the nail is simply that the former is done in place as needed. In this section, where these iron lumps appear, are also listed iron bands as well as iron-clad wagon-poles. This suggests two other uses as well, if we identify this with the raw material. Iron bands could have been cast or beaten. The iron wagon-poles undoubtedly were not clad over their entire length, but were probably fitted into iron collars which added strength, much like our modern shovels, and other implements, which have metal collars where the handle meets the shovel itself. While the wagon poles with iron collars might have been purchased, hot rivets would probably have required the capacity to work iron on the site. Alternatively, the decorative use of iron cannot be ruled out. A decoration for a wagon-pole in the shape of a bull's head (of bronze, not iron) is listed among the items catalogued in the *Collection Froehner*.[70] What argues against these possible uses is the fact that these χάλικες σιδεραῖ are numbered, not weighed. (The χάλικες σιδηραῖ listed in II² 1424a.286 are also numbered, in that case four, and not weighed.) Moreover, the presence of eight, which is a convenient multiple of the four wheels of the vehicles listed here, also suggests that we have here the means by which the wheels were secured to the axles. With the χάλικες σιδεραῖ as fasteners, then all other parts required for a wagon (the wheels, wheelband, axle, and wagon-pole) are listed.

38 A basket (κόφινος) and a shovel (ἄμε), or spade.

Lines 21-38: Conclusions

The objects listed under the rubric ἐν τôι Ἐλευσινίοι seem mostly to relate to transportation: ρρυμοί, ρρυμοὶ δίκροι, ἄχσονες, ξύλα ἐς τροχὸς τετρακύκλο, ἀρτέματα. One wonders whether these wagons or wheeled vehicles would have been used only in the practical maintenance of the City Eleusinion or whether we see further evidence for the use of wheeled carts in the cult. Until recently, it was accepted that the fifth day of the Mysteries, known as the Iacchos or *pompe*, culminated in a procession from Athens to Eleusis. At this time, the festivities in Athens had come to an end and the *hiera*

[70] Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales (Paris 1936) no. 42, pl. 13.

were returned to Eleusis in a procession of all the initiates led by the officials of the cult. Clinton[71] has shown, however, that the ephebes escorted the *hiera*, departing from Athens for Eleusis on the 19th Boedromion (the 5th day of the Mysteries). Late on the following day (20th Boedromion), the ephebes left Eleusis to meet and then escort the crowd of initiates who were coming to Eleusis from Athens with Iacchos. Noting that "the road to Eleusis is rather long, some fourteen miles; and although originally it was covered on foot," Mylonas suggested that "apparently as early as the fifth century some people went in carriages."[72] The use of slowly moving wagons in the procession is attested in Virgil's *Georgics*: tardaque eleusiniae matris volventia plaustra (I.163).[73]

The decree ordering the bridge to be built over the Rheitoi, however, specifies that it is to be made too narrow for wheeled vehicles to pass across it (IG I^3 79.11-14: πλάτος δὲ ποιόντον [π]εντέποδα, hίνα μὲ hάμαχσαι διελαύνονται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰôσιν ἒι βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ hιερά). Given this decree, we would have to assume that carts were to be used only up until that point in the procession. Their contents would then, presumably, be carried across the bridge over the Rheitoi on foot to additional carts waiting on the opposite side. Or we would have to assume that the part of the procession involving carts would have taken a different route, around the Rheitoi. While wagons were probably used even in the fifth century to transport the image of Iacchos and other sacred objects during the procession to Eleusis, how this use is to be reconciled with I^3 79, except by the use of an alternate route, is not clear. The sanctuary both in Athens and at Eleusis must also have made use of wheeled carts and wagons for more strictly utilitarian needs on a regular basis, which explains the presence of these wagons and their parts here.

39 [Ἐλευσῖνι]

The rubric, indicating a change in location from the City Eleusinion to Eleusis, is preserved in 387.46 and thus can be restored here. Because the final iota is not preserved in 387, it is unclear whether the rubric ended with the word Ἐλευσῖνι. Sardemann[74] proposed the following restoration: Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τôι θεσαυρôι. But this restoration must be rejected due to lack of space (see 387.46). Lewis (I^3) reads Ἐλευσῖνι ... [8] ....]α. I could not confirm the alpha,

[71] K. Clinton, "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries," in *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*, 4°, 38 Stockholm 1988) 70.

[72] Mylonas 252.

[73] P. A. Johnston, "Eurydice and Proserpina in the Georgics," *TAPA* 107 (1977) 161-72.

[74] Sardemann 17.

nor could Clinton. See the epigraphical commentary above. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the items in the following lines were housed in a location different from that of the building materials which appear in column II of the inscription seems reasonable.

The more precious items are listed first. These possessions of Demeter and Kore are not dedications, given that the rubric ἀναθέματα does not appear until line 60. These items appear to have been considered as negotiables, like those listed above on the Acropolis, since their weight is given as well as their number: see above, lines 11-12. They precede some negotiable currency (lines 48-51):

48 ϟϟϟΣΣΣ χρ[υσίο στατῆρες Δαρεικοί]
49 Σ Κυζ[ικενός]
50 ἔκτα[ι Φοκαῖδες ΙΙΙ]
51 ΗΗΗΓ⊢⊢Ι χρυσίο [ἀσέμο συμμείκτο σταθμόν]

Then follow seals, a necklace and drinking cups before the unminted and minted silver appear in lines 56-59. This arrangement seems to confirm, in fact, that the objects listed in these lines, 39-59, are all considered negotiable, and are not listed just together because of a common location.[75]

40-42 There is little preserved of these three lines in 387. While no definitive restoration has yet been proposed, I give here those which have been offered.

40 [φια.....[12 1/2].....]ΔΔ Ι The first three letters, preserved in 387.47, suggest the word φιάλαι certainly, or some form thereof. For a discussion of phialai, see above on line 15. Twelve and one-half spaces then remain between the end of that word and the numbers which are preserved.
Sardemann[76] restored these lines thus:

39 Ἐλευσῖν[ι ἐν τôι θεσαυρôι]
φιάλ[αι χρυσόμφαλοι] ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ἐμ πλινθείοις] ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ [θυμιατέριον ἐπίχρυ]σον

Woodward rejected Sardemann's restoration chiefly because "a silver phiale seldom weighs appreciably more, or less, than 100 dr." He offered a restoration of his own, which Lewis[77] also rejected because the weight of 120 drachmas

[75] *Cf.* Linders, *AB* 67-76.

[76] Sardemann 16-17.

[77] D. M. Lewis and A. M. Woodward, "A Transfer from Eleusis," *BSA* 70 (1975) 183-88.

would be too high for a silver phiale.

	φιαλ[ὸν ἀριθμὸς ΗΔΔ]ΔΔ|
ΤΤΧΧ	τ[ούτον hαργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΓ||
ΗΗΗΔΔ	[σταθμὸν· τὸν δὲ |||| χρυ]σὸν

Lewis then proposed:

	φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔ|
ΤΤΧΧ	τ[ούτον ...[8].... ΗΔΔ]ΔΓ||
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ	[σταθμὸν φιαλὸν hαπα]σὸν

W. E. Thompson[78] followed Lewis. Reviewing the history of the 141 silver phialai recorded in the previous line, Thompson noted that these phialai were transferred to the Hekatompedon by 400/399 (II^2 1375 plus North Slope fragments). At that time the phialai were divided into eight groups for weighing. These eight groups were reduced to six over the course of the next ten years (II^2 1400.33-36; II^2 1401.15-19), with the total weight 2000 drachmas less. Thompson saw in this reduction a way to restore the lines in question. "Every twenty or thirty years during the fourth century Athenian treasury officials disposed of worn or damaged dedications by melting them and recasting the metal in new forms.... Ferguson has shown that numerous ex-votos were removed from the Parthenon about 378. It must have been on that occasion that the Eleusinian phialai were reduced by about half. There was no need of a general revision of the dedications twenty years earlier since most of them had been turned into coinage during the Peloponnesian War. However, since the Athenians did not touch the dedications at Eleusis, by war's end some of them will have needed to be replaced." Calculating the number remaining in II^2 1400 and 1401 at between 101 and 120, Thompson concluded that between 21 and 40 of the original were defective and so restored line 41: ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον οὐχ hυγιῆς ΔΔ]ΔΓ\|\|. For the use of τούτων plus numeral, he cited as examples II^2 1425.273-75; II^2 1610.24-26; and for οὐχ hυγιῆς, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 155-163; no. 29, line 13 and II^2 1445.27. The difficulty with his restoration is that the use of the genitive is not common in this inscription and expressions describing the condition of items are found only once, although there are parallels in the later fourth century Eleusinian inventories; *cf.* II^2 1541-1549 *passim*.

Clinton[79] reviewed these previous restorations in his 1984 article and

[78] "Phialai from Eleusis," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 211-12.

[79] Clinton, *Treasures* 52-53.

compared the restorations offered by Woodward and Lewis against the format actually followed in this document. He noted that "an entry in this document normally has the following form: (1) the name of the item is given in the nominative case (sometimes the accusative), followed by (2) number, (3) σταθμόν, if appropriate (followed by τούτον, τούτο, or ταύτες if space is available). The weight is normally indicated in the margin to the left; but if it is too large to fit in the left margin, it appears on a separate line. More rarely, the item is written in the genitive (e.g. 313.35, 131,181; 314.58), but in that case σταθμόν actually does not appear.... Thus if σταθμόν occurred in the lines that we are discussing, it should, according to normal usage, come *after* the name and number of the item." Clinton thereby eliminated the restorations offered by Woodward and Lewis on the basis of their inconsistency with the normal format found in this document.

Clinton began with his own reading of what appears on the stone in I³ 387:

47 ⁘⁘⁘⁘⁘ φιά[.....[13 1/2] .....] ΔΔ Ι
TTXX τ[.....[16].....]Δ̣ΓΙΙ
HHHHΔ⊢ [ᵛ .....[17].....]σον

For line 47 Clinton observed that we should expect an unweighed item and offered φιά[λαι χαλκαῖ as one possibility. Alternatively, unweighed silver phialai or some total number of phialai could be listed here (with their weights appearing on the line below).

Rejecting σταθμόν as extremely unlikely for the following line, Clinton then offered two likely restorations:

47 φιά[λαι σύμπασαι HΓ]ΔΔΙ
TTXX τ[ούτον ἀργυραῖ HΔΔΔ]Δ̣ΓΙΙ

or φιά[λαι τοῖν θεοῖν HΓ]ΔΔΙ
TTXX τ[ούτον ἀργυραῖ HΔΔΔ]Δ̣ΓΙΙ

This would give an average weight for the 147 silver phialai of 95 drachmas, an acceptable figure. Assuming that silver phialai are listed in line 48, gold phialai would follow in line 49. Clinton thus restored line 49: HHHHΔ⊢[ᵛ χρυσαῖ : ΙΙΙ : σταθμὸν χρυ]σôν, noting that either three or four phialai are possible. On the basis of the Hekatompedon inventory (II² 1400.33) the restoration for line 41: φιά[λαι τοῖν θεοῖν HΓ]ΔΔΙ is attractive.

Clinton's objections are equally valid with respect to the restorations now printed in I³:

φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ....[8]... ΗΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ [σταθμὸν φιαλῶν hαπα]σῶν

Of all those proposed, Clinton's is the most suitable and the one to be adopted until a better one, consistent with the document, is suggested.

387. 47 φιάλ[αι τοῖν θεοῖν ΗΓ]ΔΔΙ
48 ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ
49 ΗΗΗΗΔ[[χρυσαῖ : ΙΙΙ : σταθμὸν χρυ]σῶν

43 [ΗΓ ⁝⁝⁝⁝ κύλιχς χρυσῆ σταθμόν] The numeral ΗΓ appears in 387.50 and so can be restored here. This and the following line are restored on the basis of IG I³ 389. While partially restored there, [κύλι]χς χρ[υσῆ σταθμόν], the two texts match sufficiently in these lines to justify this restoration. In the Hekatompedon inscriptions we find κύλιξ ἀργυρᾶ, [σ]ταθμὸν ΗΓ and κύλιξ χρυσῆ, στα[θμὸν ΗΓ (1400.36-37).

44 [ΗΓ ⁝⁝⁝⁝ κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν]
No figure is preserved in the left margin in 387 or (*pace* Lewis) 389.

45 [Γ]Δ[ΔΔΔ[[χρυσίς : Ι : σταθμὸν ταύτες]
This χρυσίς appears again in IG II² 1400.36 where it has gained four obols.[80] Given 387.52 and II² 1400.36, the restoration here must be [Γ]Δ[ΔΔΔ[[χρυσὶς : Ι : σταθμὸν ταύτες]. Hiller and Lewis restored 387.52, and so here, [[χρυσὶς : Ι : σταθμὸν τ]αύτες. Without a number requiring the deviation from the left column margin (beginning in stoichos 9, not 8) one stoichos remains unaccounted for within the line.

46 Η[....Δ ⁝ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν]
This οἰνοχόε is found in IG I³ 389.4, ensuring the restoration here. Of the numeral, Η is preserved here in the first space of 386.46 while Δ ⁝ is read as the last numeral in IG I³ 389, hence Η[....Δ⁝.

47 ΗΗΗΓΔΔΔ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν The restoration follows from 389.5: ΗΗΗΓΔΔ[Δ].

48 ΔΔΔΔΣΣΣ χρ[υσίο στατῆρες Δαρεικοί]
This line can safely be restored by combining what remains here, in 387, and

[80] *Cf.* Clinton, *Treasures* 55-57.

in 389. IG I³ 389 reads [ΔΔ]ΔΔΣΣΣ χρυσίο στα[τῆρες] while 387 preserves all but the first letter of Δαρεικοί. Herodotus (4.166) credits Darius with the minting of gold coinage; and the name has been taken to imply acceptance of the tradition which credits Darius with the introduction of the gold stater. Dareikos actually derives from Old Persian *dari, meaning yellow, golden. Thus a *stater dareikos* is a "gold stater."[81]

The minting of separate gold and silver coinage (as opposed to electrum coinage) is now linked to Croesus. Martin J. Price associated important reforms of the Persian coins in gold and silver (sigloi for silver, daric for gold) with Darius I.[82] These reforms included not just the introduction of the archer type but also a revision in the weight to 8.4 g (from 8.2) for the gold daric. The daric belongs to that group of coinage which is characterized by a particular weight;[83] specifically where the name of the weight system defined a coinage and specified its origin. "One of the significant acts of Darius I was the reform standardizing weights and measures in his empire, which took place around 515 B.C.... The daric, then may have been recognized to be a gold shekel on the standard of Darius."[84] Rather than replacing the Lydian standard with some pre-existing Persian weight system, Price argued that the Persic standard might have had its origin in the existing exchange relationship between electrum and gold. If so the exchange of electrum coinage in circulation would have been greatly facilitated.[85]

Darics were of extremely pure metal (23.25 carat gold, i.e., only 3 percent admixture) and so were synonymous with quality. This, added to the vast economic power and resources of Persia, easily explains why the Persian standard was fairly ubiquitous in antiquity.[86] From the assembled epigraphic evidence, Baslez[87] has shown that the gold daric was an international currency, used both by the Greeks (states and individuals) and the Achaemenid empire.

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[81] *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London 1985) 421.

[82] Martin J. Price, "Darius I and the Daric," *REA* 91 (1989) 9-14.

[83] The other two classes are 1) where the name is taken from the design (e.g. the owls of Athena); and 2) where the name reflects the issuing authority (e.g. Philippeioi). *Ibid* 11.

[84] *Ibid*.

[85] For a further discussion of gold-to-silver ratios, see Price (*supra*, n. 82); and R. Descat ("Notes sur l'histoire du monnayage Achéménide sous la règne de Darius Ier," *REA* 91 (1989) 15-31), who sees the coinage reforms under Darius as directly related to the need for a coinage of uniform value where tribute is paid throughout a far-flung empire.

[86] M. Vickers, "Persian Gold in Parthenon Inventories," *REA* 91 (1989) 256.

[87] M.-F. Baslez, "La circulation et le rôle des Dariques en Grèce d'Europe à la fin du Ve et au IVe siècles. Apport des Inscriptions Phéniciennes et Grecques," *REA* 91 (1989) 237-65.

Her view is opposed to Kraay's contention that while the daric and the sigloi were Persia's imperial coinages they were not the normal currencies in use in the Persian empire because of their rare appearance in the hoard evidence.[88] Baslez, however, argued that their guaranteed quality would have facilitated transactions. "Mais la monnaie d'or facilite aussi les transactions puisque sa valeur tarifée sur le plan international permet des opérations de 'clearing,' pour éviter les risques du transport en mer, surtout en temps de guerre." [89]

Citing, among other evidence, the use of 229 darics at Delphi (*FD*, III, 5, 61, II, A, 1-8), Baslez contended that darics were in common circulation and only those actually used for votive offerings at sanctuaries could be considered as stored up out of circulation (thésaurisée).[90]

49 Σ ˇˇˇˇ Κυζ[ικενός]

This is the line where 386 preserves enough to allow restorations/readings based primarily on that side of the stone again. It is interesting to note that not all Cyzicene staters were kept on the Acropolis. (See above, line 10). This indicates a type of accounting based on something other than pure simplicity of record keeping.

50 ἔκτα[ι Φοκαῖδες III]

ἔκτη is equal to a sixth of a stater. From IG II^2 1400.44 three is restored here for the number of ἔκται Φοκαῖδες.[91] For the presence of foreign currency in Greek sanctuaries see line 7 above.

Phocaea began minting electrum coinage by the first quarter of the sixth century and continued, along with only Cyzicus and Mytilene, to mint electrum coinage regularly despite the introduction of separate gold and silver coinage.[92] Because Phocaea did not benefit from the Black Sea trade which was so important for Cyzicus, the electrum stater was minted chiefly in sixths by

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[88] Kraay 31-34.

[89] Baslez *(supra*, n. 87) 244.

[90] *Ibid* 245. *Contra* J. R. Melville-Jones, "Darics at Delphi," *RBN* 125 (1979).

[91] *Cf.* Clinton, *Treasures* 55-57.

[92] Kraay (p. 28) assumed a local source of natural electrum for these cities (citing Herodotus 1.93; 5.101 and Strabo 13.1.23) as the explanation for the continued use of electrum. But a late fifth - early fourth century treaty regulating electrum coinage in Phocaea and Mytilene stipulates that they shall coin electrum on alternate years and at an agreed upon quality of alloy, this latter provision suggesting that there was no longer sufficient, or any, naturally occurring electrum. *Ibid* 262, n. 1.

Phocaea.[93] Kraay explained that Phocaeic sixths may have served as a local "gold" coinage, probably as a fraction for the gold daric.[94]

51 The amount of unminted gold is given as HHHΓ⊢⊢Ι or 307 drachmas and 1 obol, which is far less than the amount of silver recorded several lines later. A review of the inventories listing the dedications to Athena shows that gold pieces (melted or deconsecrated) were dedicated to Athena.[95] Gold pieces do not commonly appear in the inventories of Artemis Brauronia or Asklepios.[96] How this unminted gold came to belong to the Eleusinian Goddesses, if not through dedications, is unclear. Listed as one sum and labeled as unminted suggests its origin from a rather diverse group of smaller pieces (συμμείκτο).

52-53 σφραγῖδες λ[ίθι]ν̣α̣[ι.]
σφραγῖδες λίθιν̣α̣ι[:.Ι]

While the difference between the two groups of seals would have been immediately obvious to any one viewing them, we might be tempted to posit an additional distinguishing adjective after λίθιναι in both lines as well as the appropriate numbers. Lack of space on the stone does not allow for this hypothesis, as a comparison with 387 shows. Therefore, although a distinction was made between two groups of seals, it was not recorded in the inventory. Clinton[97] noted that σφραγῖδες λίθιναι ΙΙΙΙ would fit in IG II² 1400.37.

According to Harris,[98] "generic stone seals, perhaps of agate or a non-precious stone, appear in the [Parthenon] lists with the adjective *lithinos*." While sealstones were often of precious materials, these apparently were not (*cf.* I³ 342.20-21). The seals listed below (line 68) are distinguished by being bound (δεδεμένο) with gold.

54 Γ Ι ᵛᵛᵛᵛ ὑποδερὶς : χρυσῆ ἑλκοσ[α]

[93] The Phocaic standard (c. 16.5 g), along with the Milesian (c. 14.1 g) were the two standards predominantly employed in Asia Minor. Only Samos seems to have used the Euboeic (17.4 g). Kraay 26-27.

[94] Kraay 261-62.

[95] See Harris, especially pp. 337-43, and Harris (1995) 127-30.

[96] See Aleshire and Linders, *AB* for a complete discussion of the types of items found in their respective inventories.

[97] Clinton, *Treasures* 57, n. 8.

[98] Harris 247 and Harris (1995) 45-56, 142-43.

Clinton[99] restored ὑποδερὶς χρυσῆ in IG II^2 1400.21 because of the appearance there of other items from this section of 386. *Cf.* II^2 1403.3 where he suggested ὑποδερὶς χρυσῆ ἄστατος : ἑξαγίστο.

55 κόθονες χαλκοῖ : ΓΙΙ
These bronze Laconian drinking vessels are only numbered, not weighed as the preceding item, the golden necklace, had been. This may be standard procedure for bronze articles at Eleusis and elsewhere, since bronze was used as a currency only from 405-392 B.C. Aristophanes' comments (*Frogs* 717-733) suggest that bronze was not highly valued. The Parthenon inventory lists reveal a variety of items with bronze cores (i.e., chests, incense burners) as well as arms, armor, containers and vessels chiefly of bronze. These inventories of Demeter and Kore list only two entries of bronze, these seven kothones and an unpreserved dedication by Pistos (line 69).

56-57 𐅄ΗΗΗΗ ἀργύριον ἄσεμον
καὶ χσενικὸν homô
The grouping of unminted and foreign silver may indicate their similar value for the sanctuary. The amount (504 drachmas) of unminted and foreign silver is more than the unminted gold (307 drachmas and 1 obol), but both are considerably less than the figure given next for coined silver.

58 ἀργύριον ἐπίσεμον
59 ΤΗ𐅄ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΙ
The difference is staggering between the coined silver here (1 talent 197 drachmas and 1 obol) in 408/7 and the figure recorded for ἀργύριο ἐπίσεμο in IG I^3 385–𐅄ϟϟϟϟΧΗΗΗΗor 90 talents 1400 drachmas. See above, lines 8-9, for discussion.

The reason for the location of 2 talents 5223 drachmas 4 1/2 obols of coined silver on the Acropolis, while 1 talent 197 drachmas 1 obol are kept at Eleusis is also not clear. Again we might postulate the use of the former by the Athenian state. But we lack specific evidence for this. The assets located at Eleusis must be for the sanctuary's use, for cult, building, or maintenance. The total remains unchanged in 387.66 and no expenditures for cult practices or building projects are documented here, probably a reflection both of the wartime economy and the more limited basis on which the Mysteries were being conducted. See above, pp. 75-76.

60 ἀναθέματα marks another division in the inventory. The paucity of objects

[99] Clinton, *Treasures* 55-57.

listed under this heading must surely be seen as reflective of the nature of this inventory, not as support for Cavaignac's thesis that dedications in coined silver were encouraged during a time of major building. No parallels around this time exist for Cavaignac's hypothesis for this type of donation; and of course there is no indication of a major building project close to the time of this document. It should be noted further that the few dedications listed are precious items: necklace, earrings, phialai. No statues or vases are listed. Because stone dedications were clearly offered at Eleusis in the fifth century, as IG I² 802-819 attest, and because no stone dedications appear in the inventory lists, we must infer that the epistatai were not concerned with them in their accounts of the sanctuary, presumably because such dedications were not considered negotiable.

Lines 61-64 The ornamental jewelry which appears here in our accounts seems appropriate for two female deities.[100] These items clearly constitute *anathemata*; the previously listed ornamental jewelry seems to fall into another category, namely capital. See above, lines 15-19.

61-62 πρὸς τôι τοίχοι hόρμος
χρυσôς ἀκύλον : ΔΓ|

Here is a chain or necklace which is attached to the wall, as was the silver phiale located at the Eleusinion (line 15). No building is specified; the necklace may have been kept in the same building as the preceding objects (see above, on line 39). There is no need to assume that the building would have had to have been specified; undoubtedly it would have been obvious to the epistatai. So in line 15 we understand τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον as the sanctuary rather than a specific building. Rubensohn dissociated this τοῖχος with the τοῖχος referred to as τοῖχος τοῦ ἀνακτόρου, the wall of the Telesterion, saying that it is not believable that at any point of the "Weihetempel" were hung "little art objects." He concluded that since both τοῖχοι refer to the same wall, that wall was "die Schauwand des Allerheiligsten."[101]

Mylonas[102] offered evidence to the contrary. Citing an inscription from the first half of the second century B.C. (*Hesperia* 11 (1942) 265, n. 51) in which a priestess of the Thesmophoroi is granted the right to set up a painted portrait of herself in the temple of Demeter and Kore "in accordance with the privilege

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[100] *Cf.* the items which appear in the inventory records of Artemis Brauronia, for which see Linders, *AB*, *passim*. The Parthenon inventories (for which see Harris, *passim*) show that the principal dedications to Athena were wreaths and some ritual items, distinctly less personal in nature.

[101] "Archaeologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin," *JdI* 48 (1933) 326.

[102] Mylonas 189.

bestowed upon other priestesses," Mylonas concluded that art objects like the Grand Relief of Eleusis or the Ninnion Tablet could have been placed on the walls of the Telesterion or on the exterior of the Anaktoron.

Clinton[103] has now decisively shown, from the literary testimonia and epigraphic evidence, that the Anaktoron is a synonym of the Telesterion. "Anaktoron can *only* be understood to mean 'hall of initiation.'" Therefore, any art objects or dedications permitted on the wall of the Telesterion or Anaktoron must have been on the walls of the hall of initiation. It is not clear, however, that the τοῖχος here named should be identified with the Telesterion.

An ἄκυλος is an ornament or jewel in the form of an acorn. Here a necklace of sixteen such golden acorns is numbered among the items dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Jewelry in the form of an acorn would seem to offer an additional parallel in support of Linders' identification of the κέρχνοι with granulated jewelry in the form of millet grains, i.e., similar to raspberry drupelets.

Acorn decorated jewelry seems quite prevalent in antiquity. Vickers[104] described acorn decorated jewelry found in a tomb at Nymphaeum which is now in Oxford. Von Bothmer[105] has conveniently assembled many examples of acorn jewelry and phialai in his discussion of the gold phiale at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

63 πλάστρα χρυσᾶ πλάστρον, or earring, is an appropriate dedication for a female deity. *Cf.* the inventory records of Artemis Brauronia (IG II^2 1527.17). We find πλάστρα and the gold necklace with the sixteen acorn ornaments appearing in the fourth century (336/5-333/2) inventories from Eleusis (IG II^2 1544.11).[106] These are presumably the same items which, having been dedicated sometime before 408/7, are still in existence in the fourth century. Note the omission of any number for πλάστρα. Perhaps it was thought unnecessary as earrings usually are paired, and only one pair is meant here. *Cf.* J. Tréheux, "L'Inventaire des Clérouques d'Imbros," *BCH* 80 (1956) 476, who interpreted πλάστρα in IG XII 8, 52, line 17, as "une *paire* de boucles

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[103] K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult, The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, The Martin Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, XI Stockholm 1992), Appendix "The Name of the Telesterion," pp. 126-32.

[104] Vickers *(supra*, n. 86) 255. Vickers gives the weight of this necklace as precisely eight darics (with a daric at 8.46 g).

[105] Dietrich von Bothmer, "A Gold Libation Bowl," *Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962-1963*, 154-66. Photos of acorn necklaces can be found at p. 160.

[106] *Cf.* Clinton, *Treasures* 57-58.

d'oreilles," i.e., an item where greater precision in number would not be necessary.

64 τὸ δεμόσιον ἀνέθεκεν

It seems likely that the items listed in the preceding lines (61-63), hórμος (necklace) and πλάστρα (earrings), are dedications made by the people. Since column one ends at least one line above the stippled surface it seems improbable that the stone mason would have willingly separated the dedicator from the items dedicated when he could have done otherwise. In addition, from the disposition of the dedications which follows in column II and because Πίστος ἀνέθεκε (line 69) appears to end the section of dedications, it is preferable to assume that the items dedicated preceded rather than followed the names of dedicators. This interpretation is confirmed by 387 as well.

If the necklace and earrings are dedications made by the Demos, they could represent the dedications which were to be made from the aparche as specified in IG I³ 78. But the lack of specific identification of these dedications as derived from the aparche must be cited against this argument. Yet the complete absence of any such dedications from the aparche made by the Demos, as specified in IG I³ 78.40-44, seems strange. Even with the difficulty in collecting the aparche during the Decelean war, we might expect some dedications made and designated as such from previous years. Perhaps the dedications made from the aparche were not of the kind considered negotiable and so did not merit inclusion in this inventory. Otherwise the paucity of such aparche-related dedications in light of IG I³ 78 and the rather large sum listed ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ suggests the possibility of another decree, unpreserved, directing the use of any surplus from the aparche away from dedications for Demeter and Kore and to some other purpose.

65-66 [φιάλε ἀργυ]ρᾶ : χρυσόμφαλος

(II.5-6) [Σαλαμινοκ]λῆς : ἀνέθεκε

The restoration seems likely on the basis of 387.72-73. This golden-bossed silver phiale appears to be the dedication of Salaminokles. Salaminokles (the same one?; *contra GPN* 393 (no. 2)) also appears as an official in the Parthenon accounts for 446/5 (I³ 437.36 = *GPN* 393 (no.1)). If the restoration here of the name is correct, this is not a dedication of the current year. Salaminokles appears to have already made his dedication by the date of IG I³ 385 (c. 420 according to Lewis), where this dedication has been restored with probability.

Another fragment also listing a φιάλη πρὸς τῶι τοίχω[ι ἥ]ν ἀνέθηκεν Σαλα[μ]ινοκλῆς has recently been published by Moysey.[107] Because the phiale

107 "A Fragment of a Greek Inventory," *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 141-43.

in the Mississippi fragment is not described as ἀργυρᾶ χρυσόμφαλος, no other items listed in this fragment correspond with those in IG I³ 386-387 or 389, and no Eleusinian list used ὁλκή, as this fragment does, Moysey concluded that these two dedications, although both made by a Salaminokles, are not the same one. Given the rarity of the name Salaminokles, however, it is possible that the two men are related. Though unable to make an exact identification of the fragment, Moysey suggested that it is probably Delian in origin and from the third century B.C.

A φιάλε ἀργυ[ρ]ᾶ χρυσόμ[φαλος] is also recorded in a fourth century Eleusinian inventory (II² 1542.2). This provides further evidence for long term possession of items dedicated at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. In this case the name of the dedicator is absent; so we cannot be absolutely certain it is the same dedication.[108]

67 (II.7) [⊢⊢⊢ δακτύλιος χρ]υσôς : σταθμὸν τούτο
A golden ring is restored from 387.74. The weight of 3 drachmas [⊢⊢⊢] is restored from IG I³ 385.3 which reads ⊢⊢⊢ δακτύ[λιος χρυσôς σταθμὸν τούτο].

68 (II.8) [σφραγιδίο δύ]ọ χρυσίοι δεδεμένο
The beginning of σφραγιδίο is no longer preserved on the stone here or in 387. I have restored it on the strength of Hiller's reading which is confirmed by IG I³ 385.4. The corresponding place in 387.76, where nothing was read by Hiller, lends some support; I read a dotted rho and alpha in the third and fourth stoichos. For more on sealstones see above, lines 52-53. These sealstones were "bound with gold." Clinton[109] identified these with the jasper sealstones bound with gold found in IG II² 1542.12: σφραγῖδε ἰάσπιδε χρυσίωι δεδεμέ[νω. *Cf.* II² 1443.212-214 (Harris 13b; Harris (1995) V.162) for a sealstone bound in silver in the Parthenon inventories.

69 (II.9) Πίστος is otherwise unknown, *GPN* 368 (no. 13). Because the stone is broken away on the left at this point and only ...ΚΕΠΙΣΤΟΣ ἀνέθεκε remains, and because this line is absent altogether from 387, this reading is likely though not certain. What Pistos dedicated is not preserved. The reading here of the last two letters of χαλ]κê would support Hiller's suggestion that it was of bronze. See above, line 55, for bronze items in this inventory.

70 (II.10) This line seems to begin a section listing building materials at

[108] *Cf.* Clinton, *Treasures*.

[109] Clinton, *Treasures* 58.

Eleusis. No rubric is preserved to demarcate this from the preceding lines listing the anathemata. Some possible headings may be suggested from our evidence for the fourth century. Since we lack this line in 387 we cannot hope to restore the heading here with absolute certainty. The nature of the items which follow, however, suggests that λίθοι might have appeared as the rubric. The types of stone used in Eleusinian building include: λίθοι μέλανες (i.e., Eleusinian black stone); λίθοι ἀρουραῖοι (II² 1672.21, rough stone); λίθοι Ἐλευσινιακοί (II² 1672.53) and λίθοι Αἰγιναῖοι (II² 1672.52); λίθοι Στεριᾶθεν (I³ 395.7); λίθοι Πόρινοι (I³ 395.10). Space considerations make the term λίθοι, without additional qualifiers, likely.

In an article otherwise concerned with the question of whether quarries were public or private property, Ampolo[110] noted the epigraphic instances where Eleusinian stone occurs: IG I³ 79.6 (λίθοις Ἐλευσινόθεν); I³ 474.41-42 (ho Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος); II² 1666.b72,78 (ἐκ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνι λιθοτόμιας); 1666.69,75,81 (λίθους τεμεῖν τῆς Ἐλευσινιακῆς πέτρας); 1672.a53 (Ἐλευσινιακοὶ λίθοι). Ampolo also cited as referring to Eleusinian stone I³ 474.198-199 (τὸς λίθος τὸς μέλανας ἐνθῆναι); and I³ 395.11-12 (λιθουργοῖς τôμ πορίνον | [λίθο]ν τομὲ τôμ μελάνον).

The significance of these building materials is not immediately clear; the inscription does not specify their purpose, i.e., for what building or buildings they were all assembled. Some reasonable explanations can, however, be offered based on the evidence which exists. Clearly some building project had been underway at a point in time previous to 408/7 for which the materials listed were ordered. Noack[111] identified all these materials with the demolition of the archaic Telesterion, saying that, while it might appear that these materials had been collected in advance of some building project, the character of the blocks listed here, e.g. 15 krepis blocks, 10 orthostates etc., clearly marked them as "Abbruchsmaterial" from the Archaic Telesterion. Dinsmoor[112] preferred to identify these materials and the building from which they came with the archaic Telesterion executed in his view by either Themistocles or Cimon and intended to replace the Peisistratid Telesterion destroyed by the Persians.

Shear[113] objected to identifying these building supplies with the Archaic Telesterion when only the materials in lines 103-110 (387.113-120) are so described. It is unlikely that the materials in these lines are to be identified as

110 "Le Cave di Pietra dell' Attica: Problemi giuridici ed economici," *Opus* 1 (1982) 251-60, especially p. 258, n. 17.

111 Noack 200.

112 *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London 1950) 195, n. 4.

113 Shear, *Projects* 209.

coming from the same source, given that 30 lines intervene. The presence of these materials, in Shear's view, presents "an exceedingly accurate picture of the progress of Eleusinian building operations" and so this account should be compared with that of the Erechtheum Commission (IG I^3 474).

The building blocks are grouped here according to material, and within these divisions, by type of block, or degree to which blocks had been worked. Given the character of the architectural members listed, as well as the fact that they are of Pentelic marble, Shear concluded that these were part of the exterior colonnade for the Telesterion.[114] In particular, he associated this colonnade with the plan of Koroibos and found evidence for the beginning of work on this stoa in the east corner of the Telesterion where deep foundations project 4.21 meters beneath the later foundations identified with Philon's prostoon.[115]

Prior to a discussion of the state of the Telesterion's construction in 408/7, it should be stated that these building materials, along with those taken down from the Archaic Telesterion (lines 103-115), are all inventoried here in consideration of their potential future use or sale. We find another example of this in the fourth century inscription dealing with the building of the portico of the Telesterion, IG II^2 1666, which seems to consider materials on hand when the undertaking of a major new project was begun. "The specifications call for 24 triglyphs and only 15 metopes. This leaves 8 metopes not accounted for. Even if enough metopes were specified to correspond to the number of triglyphs, the combined number would not be sufficient to carry the course. One concludes, therefore, that a number of blocks were already on hand when the specifications were drawn up, and this conclusion is in accord with Caskey's restoration of it, lines 26-27: τὴν αὐτ[ὴ]ν ἐργασ[ίαν ποιοῦντα ταῖς ἐν τῶι ἱ]ερῶι εἰργασμέναις."[116]

Thus what at first appeared to be a rather puzzling collection of building materials can be easily explained, on closer examination of other epigraphical evidence, as part of the normal operations of a sanctuary at this period. Materials were kept to be reused when the occasion arose. The use of stones from the demolished temple in the building of the bridge over the Rheitoi rules out the possibility that they were kept as "sacred" items which could not be disposed of because of their former connection with the sanctuary. On the basis of these inscriptions, then, we can conclude that the materials listed here were

[114] Shear, *Projects* 205.

[115] Shear, *Demolished Temple* 132, n. 15.

[116] P. Davis, *Some Eleusinian Building Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1930) 20. See also L. D. Caskey, "Notes on Inscriptions from Eleusis dealing with the Building of the Porch of Philon," *AJA* 9 (1905) 147-56.

kept in anticipation of future use (or, perhaps, for sale).

Unfortunately, this list of materials does not afford us a clear picture of the state of building in the fifth century at Eleusis. That work was not in progress in the years to which these inscriptions belong seems clear from the lack of any expenditures relating to the transportation and acquisition of building materials or to any work with them of the kind we see, for example, in IG II² 1672 and 1673. The expenditures listed later in the inscription for services rendered indicate activity of only the most basic kind related to the maintenance of the sanctuary as a cult place.

To what phase of building or to what actual project earlier in the fifth century these blocks belong is a question which must remain unanswered due to lack of adequate epigraphic or archaeological evidence. Shear[117] would identify many of these blocks with a stoa, planned, begun but not actually built, for the Classical Telesterion. Against this conclusion, Clinton[118] argued, is the absence of a large number of foundation blocks, since obviously the foundation would have been built first. He concluded: "Nothing in this document [IG I³ 386-387] so far as I can see, reflects construction (or interruption of construction) of any part of the Telesterion." Indeed Clinton has argued that even by the mid-fifth century a new (and completed) Telesterion must have been "of the highest priority in any general political and architectural plan for Athens."[119] It is indeed difficult to imagine that a structure like the Telesterion, so essential to the cult of Demeter and Kore, a cult of equally great importance to Athens, would have remained grossly incomplete from the 480s until the end of the fifth century.

Yet our inability to accept an incomplete Telesterion does not eliminate such a possibility. In addition to the possible political problems Pericles might have experienced given his vast building agenda (which might have led to the postponement of the Telesterion's construction at Eleusis), A. M. Burford[120] has pointed out that lack of skilled labor was often a critical determining factor in construction in antiquity. In particular, the building of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus was delayed for two generations after the cult had achieved international status. "The decisive economic factor was, I suggest, not money but skilled labour—a sufficient number of specialists, trained in the traditions of temple architecture to carry out the complexities of a building scheme."

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117 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 132.

118 Clinton, *Telesterion* 262, n. 29.

119 Clinton, *Telesterion* 259.

120 "The Economics of Greek Temple Building," *ProcCamPhilSoc* 191 (1965) 30.

Thus the possibility remains that however great the need or the desire for a new and completed Telesterion in the fifth century the actual construction might have been delayed due to reasons of political expediency or possible lack of skilled labor. Given the program of building underway at Athens at this time, either factor could have influenced the course of building at Eleusis.

Clinton's view that the classical Telesterion was primarily constructed during the 440s, along with the Parthenon, seems nonetheless quite appealing. The financial account (IG I^3 395) which lists transport and quarrying expenses is almost certainly related to the building of the Telesterion. While Ictinus might have either been involved with the planning stages or supervised the work until the foundations were laid (based on views of all of the scholars who have attempted to reconcile Strabo and Vitruvius, who name Ictinus as the architect, with Plutarch, who does not), Clinton proposed that Koroibos soon assumed control of the building project in the 440s, perhaps as early as 447, when Ictinus went to work on the Parthenon.

Clinton further placed the work of Metagenes and Xenokles in the 440s as well, thereby allowing for the completion of the Telesterion in the 440s, or, at the latest, the early 430s. In the end, however, Clinton's analysis does not offer a definitive answer to the question to what period or to which project these blocks belong.

Citing IG I^3 385 with its 90 talents, Clinton argued for building activity in the sanctuary in the 420s. Among the possibilities mentioned are the actual transporting of materials for the construction of a Porch not actually built until the second half of the fourth century. But Clinton discounted this view, proposed by Shear, as unlikely given the absence of foundation blocks. The only other possibility proposed by Clinton is the Eleusinian Treasury, which we know to have existed from IG II^2 1672, but of which no classical remains have been identified.

While not so satisfying in its conclusiveness, I would suggest that given the series of rather abrupt changes in the fifth century construction of the Telesterion, these blocks—even those which appear in substantial number—are probably silent confirmation of the whole series of changed plans which our literary sources and archaeological remains suggest occurred. Thus with projects begun, stone ordered and changes following, it is not surprising that the accounts of the epistatai would show a wide variety of materials, perhaps from several different projects. These unused blocks would continue to be inventoried until their use could be incorporated into some plan which was actually carried out.

70 (II.10) [λίθοι hέκποδα καὶ] πεντέποδα : |

Although the type of block whose measurement is given here is not preserved, this is our clearest indication that dedications are no longer being listed but that

building materials now follow. In order to conform with the other rubrics, beginning five spaces to the left of the column margin, only λίθοι is restored before [hέκποδα καὶ] πεντέποδα: I.

71-72 [....9....]ές στρῶμα : Γ
(II.11-12) [....9....ές] στρῶμα : I
Specifically what type of stones, of which five remain of one type and one of another, were used for paving does not remain.

These lines appear to list blocks which are presumably cut, but whose exact measurements are not clear. In the Erechtheum Accounts (I³ 474) we encounter not only multiple dimensional measurements for the blocks listed, but the dimension to which each measurement refers is clearly spelled out with the terms given for length (τὸ μῆκος), width (τὸ πλάτος), and thickness (τὸ ὕψος). Here we are given one measurement (e.g. ὀκτόποδας or πεντέποδα) which perhaps signifies a square block with close to the same measurements for its length and width.[121] Since we are dealing here with paving stones, it seems unlikely that the thickness of the block would equal the dimensions of the other two faces. We might infer that the epistatai are working for the most part with paving stones of average or of standard dimensions and so did not need to spell out the measurements of each in full.

Likely restorations for these lines include ὀκτόποδας, πεντέποδα, or τετράποδα i.e., blocks measuring 8 x 8; 5 x 5; or 4 x 4 respectively. Given that we are dealing with five blocks in line 71, we would expect an ending with -ες or -ας, ὀκτόποδας being the most likely. Either πεντέποδα or τετράποδα would fill the space in line 72.

73 (II.13) ...⁷... hυπὸ τε̂]ι σκενε̂ι : ΔΔΔ[Δ]
This curious phrase which recurs in line 100 seems to indicate the location of the materials listed. Whether this is a permanent structure, i.e., a wooden stage (perhaps related to the theatre), or something more temporary, such as a tent, related to building activities is unclear. For the possibility of a theatre at Eleusis, see Mylonas, pp. 139 and 185, with Travlos's figure, no. 32.

What was stored hυπὸ τε̂ι σκενε̂ι is missing here. From 387.82, hεμιπλίνθια seems a likely restoration, but would, however, require the line to start three (if the iota does not occupy a full stoichos) or four spaces to the left of the column. While this is not impossible such spacing elsewhere in this document indicates that a change in subject is intended, which is not the case here. hεμιπλίνθια are half-bricks, i.e., half of a whole brick.[122] Ginouvès-

[121] Ginouvès/Martin 57.

[122] Orlandos I, 60.

Martin[123] compare the term ἡμιπλίνθιον to Vitruvius's expression *semilater*, which is applied either to any divided unit, or, more frequently, to those units where the dimension is half of the norm.

74 (II.14) This line is missing from 386. As the correspondence between the two sides of the stone breaks down at this point, restoration is no longer a matter of substitution from one side to the other. The next line preserved in 387.84 reads ἐν τοῖ βο[λευτερίοι...]. This is one possible restoration, but perhaps not the only one. Nothing is preserved in 387.83 after σκενεῖ ΔΔΔ[Δ] from which we can restore this line.

75-77 (II.15-17) Little remains in these three lines, enough to allow possible restoration of one word but not a whole line.

75 (II.15) .....[12]..... σφόνδ]υλοι, column drums, are suggested by 387.80.

76 (II.16) One possibility is immediately suggested: ἐν Αἰγίνει ..[6] ...γ]ο̣νιαι[ο..]. Martin[124] defines γωνιαῖος as an angle block, cut in an L-shape. Ginouvès-Martin[125] further define γωνιαῖος as a block in an L-shape (the proportions of the two sides could be extremely variable) of which the two outer faces effect an angle.

77 (II.17) Some form of τετρα[ποδ-] is to be restored here, although whether τετράποδα or τετράποδες is more likely is not clear. A restoration for the beginning of the line is suggested by 387.86 [σαθρὸν hέκποδα καὶ]. Printed with some of the possible restorations suggested by comparison of these lines with the corresponding ones in 387, lines 70-77 (II.10-17) might appear thus:

70 [λίθοι hέκποδα καὶ] πεντέποδα : Ι
71 [ὀκτόποδας] ἐς στρῶμα : Γ
72 [τετράποδα ἐς] στρῶμα : Ι
73 [...[7]... hυπὸ τῆ]ι σκενεῖ : ΔΔΔ[Δ..]
74 [ἐν τοῖ βολευτέριο] vacat
75 [.....[12]....σφόνδ]υλοι[....]
76 [ἐν Αἰγίνει ..... γ]ο̣νιαι[ο..]
77 [σαθρὸν hέκποδα καὶ] τετρά[ποδα : Ι]

[123] Ginouvès/Martin 54, n. 300.

[124] Martin 219.

[125] Ginouvès/Martin 61.

In his edition of Eleusinian inscriptions, Clinton will propose the following text of these lines:

70 [λίθοι hέκποδα καὶ] πεντέποδα : ι
[ὀκτόποδας ἐ]ς στρῶμα : Γ
[τετράποδα ἐς] στρῶμα : ι
[πλίνθοι hυπὸ τὲ]ι σκενêι ΔΔΔ[Δ
[ἐν τôι βολευτερίοι .]
[hεμιπλίνθια . σφόνδ]υλοι [
[ἐν Αἰγίνει σαθρὸν γ]ονιαῖ[ον : ι
[σαθρὸν hέκποδα καὶ] τετρά[ποδα : ι

78-82 (II.18-22) While nothing at all remains from these lines, some tentative restorations can be suggested on the basis of comparable lines in 387. Even with these restorations we still lack two lines from the texts of both 386.81-82 and 387.91-92.

78 (II.18) [Πεντελεικοὶ λίθοι] is a rubric beginning, most probably, three spaces to the left of the margin (*cf.* 387.87), and indicates the source of the stone which follows.

The nature of the architectural members which follow suggests that we are dealing with parts of an exterior colonnade.[126] Given that these blocks are of Pentelic marble, the Telesterion is the only logical building with which to connect this colonnade. The foundations which led Noack to assign these blocks to Ictinus's Telesterion and peristyle have been shown to date to the fourth century.[127] See discussion above, on line 70. The small number of blocks of any one type listed here imply that these are a miscellaneous assortment of blocks left over from a variety of construction projects (only in line 85, where there are 40 of one kind, are there more than a few).

79 (II.19) [τρίποδ---] *Cf.* 387.88.

80 (II.20) [hέκποδες ----] *Cf.* 387.89.

81-82 (II.21-22) No restorations are suggested for these lines since they are also missing from 387.

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126 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 132.

127 K. Kourouniotis and J. Travlos, "ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΙΚΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΘΣΙΝΙΑΚΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ," *ArchDelt* 16 (1935-1936) 1-42.

83 (II.23) [.....[14].....]πια : I vacat.
Hiller proposed here [.....[14].....γον]ιαῖ[ος] which is impossible, since nothing is inscribed following the final obol sign.

84 (II.24) [....[10]....στυλ]οβάται : IIII
These are blocks which formed the stylobate, the course on which the columns rested.

85 (II.25) Only the ending -ες is preserved here along with the number 40 (ΔΔΔΔ). One possibility is a word involving ...ποδ]ες.

86 (II.26) [.....[9]....γ]ονιαῖος See above, line 76, for more on the angle-block (γωνιαῖος).

87 (II.27) κρεπ[ιδιαῖο]ν ἐργασμένον : I κρηπιδιαῖον is a block belonging to the socle, what Martin[128] described as "une articulation entre les fondations enterres (θεμέλια) et le mur lui-même." The socle is, in general, made up of a series of tiers, or steps, which form part of the foundation, the last of which is either the stylobate of the colonnade or the teichobate of the walls.[129]

Based on IG IV^2 103, Roux[130] offered another possible definition. The term krepis could, according to the state of construction, be either the completed socle or simply the lower steps, not including the stylobate. He cautioned against associating the krepis only with the stylobate itself, since it could as well refer to the two steps leading up to the stylobate.

This and the following two blocks are all described as ἐργασμένον which indicates that they had already been at least partially prepared for use with a specific intent. This could suggest either a temporary suspension in construction, or, a change in building plans during the course of the project so that blocks originally intended for one use would have been left over.

88 (II.28) γονιαῖο[ν ἑ]τερον ἐργασμένον : I See above on line 86.

89 (II.29) ἐπίκρανον ἐ[ργ]ασμένον : I
Since this column capital was worked, as were the blocks in the preceding lines, clearly the rest of the blocks in this section were not.[131]

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[128] Martin 307.

[129] Martin 334.

[130] *L'Architecture de l'Argolide* (Paris 1960) 172.

[131] Shear, *Projects* 204.

90 (II.30) κρεπιδιαίος [: ΔΓ : τούτον ὀκ]τόπος : I
Of these fifteen blocks belonging to the krepis (foundation) one (ὀκτόπος) is worthy of note because of its exceptional size.

91 (II.31) ὀρθοστάτας : Δ[II : δίποδας : IIII]
Noack[132] associated these orthostates not with the cella of the Ictinean peristyle Telesterion, but with the exterior walls. He calculated that four three-foot orthostates would have sufficed for only one-quarter of the SW wall.

92 (II.32) Αἰγιναῖοι
The use of Aeginetan stone in Eleusinian buildings was quite common, we may infer from this and other inscriptions. IG II² 1666, specifying materials for the Telesterion, clearly orders stone to be cut and brought from Aegina (lines 8, 24) and states the use for which the stone was intended more clearly. Here the Aeginetan stone seems not to have been finally worked but is simply inventoried by its dimensions: eight 4x4 foot blocks (τετραπόδες ἀμφότεραι : ΓIII); two 6x4 foot blocks (ἑκποδε καὶ τετράποδε : II); three 6x2 foot blocks (ἑκποδεα καὶ δίποδες : III). Thus it appears that a certain quantity of Aiginetan stone was brought to Eleusis with the intention of finishing it on the site, as was the usual practice. *Cf.* I³ 395 [λ]ιθὸν τομὲ Αἰγιναίον.

93-94 (II.33-34) These two lines can easily be restored from the corresponding part of 387, lines 102-104. They clearly list Aiginetan stone of varying dimensions.

93 (II.33) ἑκποδε καὶ τ̣[ετράποδε : II]: two blocks measuring 6x4.
94 (II.34) ἑκποδες κα[ὶ δίποδες : III]: three blocks measuring 6x2.

95 (II.35) στυλίδες : Γ [I] : diminutive of στῦλος (*LSJ*). According to Cavaignac[133] these στυλίδες are columns belonging to the upper story of the Telesterion. Noack[134] disputed Cavaignac's identification of these stylides with the upper level of the Doric columns of the Telesterion because of their small size, although no dimensions are actually given here.

[δίποδε ἀμφοτέραι : II]

This cannot refer to the στυλίδες but rather must be the dimensions of yet more Aiginetan stone blocks. The number of blocks measuring 2x2 is two, confirmed by the dual and traces of II. Hiller variously restored ΓII at this point in

[132] Noack 201.

[133] Cavaignac 38.

[134] Noack 201.

386 but only II in 387. There is no reason to assume a different number in the two texts.

96 (II.36) [χσύλα] begins a section enumerating the various kinds and sizes of wood at Eleusis. Wood for construction was assessed by the piece, account taken of both its dimensions and kind.[135] Meiggs[136] defined xyla as "a general term which could be used for round timber, squared timber, or sawn timber." Xyla is to be differentiated from sanides (for which see below, line 133), a term used for the boards on which some accounts were written and for what artists painted on.

πεύκινα : ΓΙ Pine (πεύκη) wood. Theophrastus (*HP* 5.6.1) cites its strength as one of its chief attributes: βάρος δὲ ἐνεγκεῖν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἡ ἐλάτη καὶ πεύκη πλάγιαι τιθέμεναι. Pine was used for roughly the same purposes as cedar. Because of its resistance to humidity, pine was employed especially in marine construction. It had the additional advantage of adhering well.[137] Meiggs[138] noted that pine would have been used in the Parthenon largely for secondary timbers, i.e., the boards and battens over the rafters since cypress was used for the main roof-timbers. The number of varieties of pine found in Greece and the Mediterranean is considerable, but rarely do we find them differentiated in our ancient sources.

[ἐλάτινα : ΔΔΔ] Fir, also very resistant to moisture according to Theophrastus (*HP* 5.6.1), is a most useful wood: πρὸς πλεῖστα δὲ σχεδὸν ἡ ἐλάτη παρέχεται χρείαν (*HP* 5.7.4). It is a very dense wood (πυκνότατον ξύλον), both resistant and durable but likely to putrefy according to Theophrastus. Among its foremost uses were ceiling beams, frameworks and doors.[139]

Fir was the dominant species in the upper zone of both Greece and Italy. It was regarded as the most useful timber for boat building and general construction[140] with the varieties in the northern mountain areas considered superior to those found elsewhere. It is a stock item in the Delian account inventories (ID 158A.68; ID 372A.162). Vitruvius (2.9.6) lists among its main virtues the fact that it is light, not easily bent and is a good weight bearer.

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[135] Martin 31.

[136] Meiggs 435.

[137] Orlandos I, 16.

[138] Meiggs 202.

[139] Orlandos I, 16.

[140] Meiggs 43.

While it does not sag when used for joists which support an upper floor, it is liable to rot.[141]

97 (II.37) [σ]χιστό ⌊ ⌊ ⌋ Pieces of cut, or split, timber,[142] especially useful for boards, planks and beams. While schista "literally meant cleaved with wedges, it comes to mean sawn."[143] In the absence of exact measurements, the term σχιστό indicates wood that has been sawn into pieces.

[hαμαχσιαίο : ⌊ ⌊] ἁμαξιαῖος = "large enough to load a wagon" (*LSJ*). This might seem to us inexact as a measurement, but was clearly not to the Greeks. *Cf.* Xenophon (*Hellenica* II. 4.27): τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἁμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν.

Burford[144] stated that "it seems likely that an approximate measure was understood by the word hamaxa or 'wagon-load', much as we talk of a 'load' of hay." Citing IG IV² 108, 109, she noted that wagon-loads of wood were supplied at various prices at Epidauros. Working also from one of the Epidaurus accounts (IG IV² 109.II.144) Meiggs[145] calculated more precisely the measure of a wagon-load of wood. In that inscription 40 wagons of twenty-two footers were priced at 40 drachmas per wagon. Assuming a price of ten drachmas each (which he argued was reasonable for twenty-two footers since twenty-four footers cost 12 drachmas each), Meiggs calculated that each wagon load held four timbers. He further reasoned that if a standard wagon could carry four timbers measuring twenty-two or twenty-three feet in length, some additional information regarding transport in antiquity could be deduced. Assuming that the timbers are a foot in cross section and allowing 35 pounds per cubic foot, a twenty-three foot timber would weigh 805 pounds. To pull a wagon of four such timbers, Meiggs concluded that four yoke of oxen would be needed for each wagonload.

98-99 (II.38-39) Timber is also described as roughly squared (τετράγωνα) or round (στρόγγολος). Here the three terms which follow describe further working of the timber. They appear to mean that roughly squared logs, τετράγωνον, had been further cross-cut (length-wise) into two (hεμίτομος),

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141 Meiggs 241.

142 Martin 30, 33.

143 Meiggs 435.

144 "Heavy Transport in Classical Antiquity," *The Economic History Review* 18 (1960) 10.

145 Meiggs 428-29.

three (τρίτομος), or four (τετράτομος) sections each.[146]

99 (II.39) αἰγί[δος χσύλα ...]
αἰγίς is the heart wood of the Corsican pine; in Arcadia also of the silver fir. Theophrastus identifies it especially with the pine: ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν αἰγίδα τὴν καλουμένην ἡ θήλεια τῆς πεύκης ἔχει (*HP* 3.9.3), noting that while that of the fir is more plentiful in Arcadia (Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀρκαδίαν ἀμφότερα καλοῦσιν αἰγίδα καὶ τὴν τῆς πεύκης καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐλάτης, καὶ εἶναι πλείω τὴν τῆς ἐλάτης ἀλλὰ καλλίω τὴν τῆς πεύκης (*HP* 3.9.8)), the heartwood of pine is better.

100 (II.40) See above on line 73 for ὑπὸ τεῖ σκενεῖ and line 97 for ἁμαχσιαῖα. No number is preserved here nor does one remain in 387.110.

101 (II.41) τετράγονα Θουριακὰ : ΔΔΔΓ Squared logs, with four angles. Orlandos[147] cited this line as an example of wood being brought to Eleusis for purposes of construction and interpreted the adjective Θουριακά as indicative of the wood's origin from Thurii in Southern Italy. Given that the major cost in antiquity for materials was due to transportation, one generally assumes that selection of materials was made with an eye to keeping those costs at a minimum. But in this instance, distance was clearly not an important concern.

These Thurian timbers, according to Meiggs,[148] "will have come down the river Crathis from the Sela forest" in southern Italy. The only other possible way to bring timbers from these same forests would have been down the river Neto, which empties into the sea near Croton, the second port for Sela timber.

Despite the absence of any evidence for Athenian timber trade with Italy earlier than this document, Meiggs is surely correct in stating that the Greeks must have known well from their Italian colonies how rich in timber were the forests of southern Italy. Alcibiades' assertion to the Spartans that Athens planned to build ships in the west once Syracuse was defeated "because Italy had an abundance of timber" (Thuc. 6.90.3) simply confirms this view.

Given the nature of our evidence, however, nothing further can be said regarding the original purpose for which these timbers were purchased nor their original date of purchase, which could have occurred at any time during the preceding forty years.

102 (II.42) See above on line 23.

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[146] See Meiggs 332 and plates 11A and 11B.

[147] Orlandos I, 13.

[148] Meiggs 354.

103-4 (II.43-44) ἀπὸ τô νεὸ καθειρεμένα
κεράμο ζεύγε : XΓHHΓ

The inventory here is concerned with a different group of materials. The use of the *paragraphos* in lines 101 and 102 demarcates the tiles in line 102 from both the preceding and following items. A new rubric appears in line 103, ἀπὸ τô νέο καθειρεμένα, although it does not start to the left of the column margin as other rubrics in this inventory. A diverse group of materials follows, including building materials as well as tools.

The first group of items, 1750 roof tiles, is described as "taken down from the temple." The temple here referred to must be the Peisistratid Telesterion, the only Telesterion built to completion before the Periclean Telesterion.[149] According to fifth century usage, the term νεώς can only be identified with the Telesterion. See now Clinton, *Myth and Cult, The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, The Martin Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, XI (Stockholm 1992)), Appendix 7, "The Name of the Telesterion," pp. 126-32. Noack noted the lack of a pronaos or prodomos for this Telesterion which was distinguished above all by its many interior columns. Since only the Peisistratid Telesterion also had a stoa or portico, Noack supported Cavaignac's association of the wooden epistyles (line 106) and the σφεκίσκοι ἀπὸ τêς στοâς καθειρεμένοι (lines 108-109) with the Peisistratid Telesterion and its stoa.

Shear[150] offered the most comprehensive analysis of the items listed as ἀπὸ τô νεὸ καθειρεμένα. Agreeing that ho νεός must refer to the sixth century Telesterion, he pointed out that although it is attributed to Peisistratos, "with more chronological precision it ought preferably be assigned to his sons."

Based on the surviving foundations, Shear described this Archaic Telesterion as a large, square hall with three doors on the southeast side. On this same side was a broad portico of ten Doric columns which formed a deep porch two intercolumniations wide. The other three interior walls would have been lined with nine stone steps. Five rows of interior columns totalling twenty-two columns (two columns would have been aligned with what Shear identified as the "Anaktoron" on the southwest wall) carried the roof (of normal gabled type) and crowning pediment over the southeast portico.

Given that the colonnaded porch of the Archaic Telesterion was the "only structure of its kind" prior to the fourth century Prostoon, it is clear that the materials listed here as ἀπὸ τῆς στοâς could only belong to this building. Moreover, the presence of three pairs of doors in the inventory correspond to

149 Noack 60.

150 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 128-40.

the three doors of this Telesterion as well. Shear rightly objected that these could hardly have already been removed from the classical Telesterion so soon after installation.

Shear re-examined the literary and archaeological evidence and concluded that these items recorded here, and those used in the bridge over the Rheitoi (IG I^3 79.5-10), are unlikely to have belonged to a building destroyed and burned by the Persians. The nature of the poros stone, which is the material of all these blocks (with the exception of the sima and the roof which were of Parian marble) is such as to be easily calcined (thus becoming fragile and friable) if exposed to the extreme heat of fire. Shear concluded that such damaged material would hardly still be inventoried here at the end of the fifth century.

The logical conclusion, based on the rubric found here (ἀπὸ τô νεὸ καθειρεμένα, literally "taken down from the temple"), the condition of these architectural members and their presence here at the end of the fifth century, is that the Archaic Telesterion was systematically taken down prior to the Persian invasion in 480 in preparation for the construction of what is generally called the Kimonian Telesterion. Shear described this version of the Kimonian Telesterion as having twice the length of its predecessor and the same width, with twenty-one columns arranged in three rows. Support for this can be found in the beddings and foundations along the northeast wall. With none of the superstructure remaining which can be identified with this Kimonian project, clearly the building project was not far advanced in 480.

The practice of storing building materials for re-use or re-sale has already been discussed above, on line 70. Somewhat surprising, however, is the sheer number of these roof tiles, viz. 1750, listed immediately after 400 new tiles. One supposes that these tiles were kept to be used in new buildings or repairs. Since the roof of the Peisistratid Telesterion was of marble,[151] the value of the used tiles accounts for their preservation.

A complete reconstruction of the roof belonging to the Peisistratid Telesterion is offered by Orlandos in Noack's *Eleusis*.[152] We know that the pan tiles measured 0.63 m wide while the length of the cover tiles and pan tiles can be measured at 0.66 m from a completely preserved example. With 0.055 m deducted from the length to account for overlap, the area covered by the cover tile and the pan tile unit comes to 0.381 m^2.

Thus the area covered by 1750 roof tiles is 667 m^2. Taking into consideration the rise of the roof, which is 1:3.85 (giving a slope of 3.98), these 1750 roof tiles would have covered 645 m^2 of the base area of the Peisistratid Telesterion. From its foundations we know that the Archaic Telesterion

[151] Noack 64.

[152] *Ibid* 63-68.

measured 28 x 35 m, with a base area of 980 m^2. With account taken of the slope (1:3.85), the roof area of this building was 1013 m^2. This roof area, then would have required approximately 2,660 roof tiles of the measurements provided above. The 1750 roof tiles which remain in 408/7 would have covered a building measuring approximately 18 x 35 m (as opposed to the 28 x 35 m of the entire building). Clearly, this number of well-preserved marble roof tiles would have had utility for any number of purposes. Hence their presence in an inventory of 408/7.

While the origin of the old tiles is clear, the reason for 400 new tiles, which presumably remain in excess of the number needed for the original project for which they were ordered, is not. Because these 400 new tiles are less readily identified with the architectural remains of any given building, their dimensions or the area which they covered are less readily calculated. However, we can arrive at approximate measurements and areas covered using 1) the same dimension as the Peisistratid Telesterion (in which case 400 tiles cover an area of 0.381 m^2 = 152 m^2); or 2) the dimensions of a Corinthian pan and cover tile found at Eleusis, which Orlandos[153] cited as an example of a standard tile (although the building with which it should be identified is nowhere stated). This terracotta tile measures 0.823 m long by 0.575 m wide. Deducting .055 m for overlap (as we did for the Peisistratid Telesterion tiles), we arrive at a tile with an area of 0.4416 m^2, 400 of which would have covered an area measuring 176 m^2. Despite the absence of exact dimensions for these roof tiles, it seems safe to suggest that these 400 tiles would have covered an approximate area of 150 m^2 to 175 m^2.

Given the general economy apparent elsewhere in this document we must assume that either a change in plans of the building for which these new roof tiles were acquired resulted in their being left over, or that the wide variety of uses which existed for roof tiles, including possible roof repair, wall-caps, drains etc., accounted for extras being ordered.

105 (II.45) σφόνδυλοι : Ρ||||

The number of column drums is noteworthy. Noack[154] concluded that the sheer number of column drums listed here (54) precluded their connection with a simple temple or prostyle building, and that the only temple with which such a number could be associated was the ἱερὸν πολύστυλον, that is the Telesterion. So too the items listed in the following lines.

σπε[ῖρ]αι : ΔΓ| Here probably the rounded moulding on the base of

153 Orlandos I, 86.

154 Noack 60.

an Ionic column is meant (*cf.* IG I^3 474.64), and so defined by Ginouvès/Martin:[155] "the upper and lower moulding of an Ionic-attic base." Noack[156] concluded from these σπεῖραι ("16 ionischen Säulenbasen, σπεῖραι nur auf dieses beziehen") that the columns in the interior of the Peisistratean Telesterion were Ionic. He rejected the possibility of an Ionic order on the exterior and located it rather in the interior on the basis of the other items in the inventory with which these bases are listed, because these Ionic columns could not be put on the stylobate of the "Vorhalle," and because there was no other place than the interior of the Telesterion with which to associate the epistyles, etc. So too Shear.[157]

Not so Dinsmoor,[158] later followed by Lawrence[159] who assigned them to the post-Persian (i.e., Kimonian) Telesterion. Shear[160] effectively undermined this hypothesis through an examination of the archeological remains of the Kimonian Telesterion. Given "the incomplete state even of the foundations, it is hard to imagine that many blocks were ever fully worked and set in place. It should be equally obvious that the doors, roof tiles, and wooden timbers of the inscription cannot have belonged to this phase of the temple."

106 (II.46) χσύλα ἐπιστύλια : ΔΔ Ι Wooden architraves.

107 (II.47) ἐγ δυοῖν κεκολλεμένον : Ι
Following on χσύλα ἐπιστύλια this would seem to mean that there were wooden architraves which consisted of two pieces joined together. See Noack above, line 105. The frequent appearance of κολλάω in inscriptions, along with the purchase of glue itself, "makes it plain that the joints in the timbers of Greek buildings were often glued together."[161] Citing II^2 1672.161 and 1682.28, Hodge noted that the best glue was made from oxhides and hooves. This suggests yet another use for the hides listed below in line 123.

Shear[162] found these twenty-two wooden epistyles, eighteen wooden rafters

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155 Ginouvès/Martin 159.

156 Noack 60.

157 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 135.

158 *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London 1950) 195, n. 4.

159 *Greek Architecture* (Baltimore 1957) 252.

160 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 140.

161 Hodge 106.

162 Shear, *Demolished Temple* 135.

from the stoa and ten roof timbers "the most striking entries in the inventories." He identified these architectural members thus: "The epistyles came almost certainly from the interior of the hall and rested on the Ionic columns, 16 bases of which are still stored with them, while the text states specifically that the rafters were 'taken down from the stoa'." The existence of these wooden roof members in an inventory of 408/7, and hence, we may assume, in a state worth preserving, is among the most convincing evidence cited by Shear to support his argument that the Archaic Telesterion was purposefully demolished prior to 480.

108-109 (II.48-49) σφεκίσκοι Roof timbers or rafters. Hodge[163] defined σφηκίσκος as "the normal Greek word for a rafter," citing II² 1668.53 for support. He noted that its use in IG I³ 474.81 shows it to be a secondary timber.[164]

Noack[165] agreed with Cavaignac that the temple and its portico are here referred to rather than a freestanding stoa, noting again that these roof timbers must be associated with the preceding epistyles and, hence, both should be identified with the same building.

110 (II.50) θυρôν ζεύγε : III
By analogy with κεραμô ζεύγε, these should be the two leaves of a door. Shear[166] identified these three pairs of doors with the Peisistratid Telesterion. Not only do the existing foundations of the southeast wall of that building preserve the thresholds of three doorways, but remains of the Kimonian Telesterion suggest that it had only two entrances. It is further unlikely that these doors belong to the recently constructed classical Telesterion.

The appearance of the *paragraphos* in the lines preceding would suggest that this is the beginning of a new section. Shear,[167] however, questioned this since the entries are not so separated in 387.120 (where the *paragraphos* appears in 387.113) and therefore concluded that the *paragraphos* here is an error. On the other hand, the absence of the *paragraphos* in 387 may, equally well, be a mistake.

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[163] Hodge 119.

[164] Shear (*Demolished Temple* 130, n. 3) too offered the Erechtheum accounts in support of this definition.

[165] Noack 60.

[166] Shear, *Demolished Temple* 132-33.

[167] Shear, *Demolished Temple* 131, n. 8.

ικριοτε̣̂[ρ]ας : Δ = ικριώτερ: "scaffolding."[168] Associated by Ginouvès/Martin[169] with ικρίωμα, a temporary structure which would allow access to the different levels of a building either for its construction or repair. Shear,[170] on the other hand, seemed to agree with the definition offered by *LSJ* ("upright supporting a gallery or loft"), when he identified the ικριοτῆρας as "most likely part of the woodwork of the roof." Either definition is suitable in this context. ικριώτερ does not occur elsewhere. On the appearance of the aspirate, see Threatte, p. 495.

111 (II.51) κλίμαξ A ladder or stairway.[171] Two different sizes (μεγάλο and σμικρά) are inventoried here.

112 (II.52) τροχιλεία Block and tackle equipment. While τροχίλος designated the pulley, the key element of the block and tackle, τροχιλεία was the term used for the assembly of multiple pulleys and pulley-blocks. One τροχιλεία which appears in IG II^2 1672.307 was of elm (ξύλα πτελέϊνα μονόβολα, ὧν παρελάβομεν κατεχρησάμεθα εἰς τὴν τροχιλείαν), while that in the following line (308) was of ash (μελέϊνα).

The αὐχένες μελεΐναι (IG II^2 1672.308) signify the pulley-blocks of wood which give way to the ropes thereby allowing the reduction of forces. The pulleys were of iron and reinforced with iron (τροχιλείας σιδηρώσεως, II^2 1672.205; τροχίλων σιδηρ[ώσεως, II^2 1672.239). The block and tackle could consist of three or four pulley blocks for use in the relay of decreasing forces. The entirety was put in operation by means of ropes or cables (σχοινία).[172]

There are two sizes of block and tackle equipment, large and small. For possible costs of the τροχιλεία after the fifth century, see W. Kendrick Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai II," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 304-05.

113 (II.53) ἄμαξαι See above on line 24 for more detailed description. κανόνε λ[ι]θίνο = κανών, straight-edge, an instrument of measure, i.e., a level. The mason's rule was usually of iron, occasionally of stone (*cf.* I^3 475.217).

The carpenter, the stone cutter and the mason all used the rule or straight-edge to verify the absolute level of surfaces. Carpenters' rules were always of

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[168] R. L. Scranton and L. B. Holland, *Sylloge of Building Inscriptions* (unpublished) 2358.

[169] Ginouvès/Martin 116.

[170] Shear, *Demolished Temple* 130, n.4.

[171] Scranton & Holland (*supra*, n. 168) 3494.

[172] Martin 202-03, fig. 82.

wood or stone. Their length varied: those in wood sometimes exceeded twenty feet or approximately six meters. Wood used for straight-edges was of the kind least likely to putrefy. Large straight-edges of wood were often soaked in oil to prevent the wood from changing shape.[173] This straight-edge is of stone and its use was more likely for masonry rather than for carpentry. The stone mason used the κάνων chiefly for the horizontal adjustment of courses (ὁμαλίζειν, ἀναξεῖν), i.e., for the levelling of each course before the successive course was put in place.

114-115 (II.54-55) ὑπερτερία is the upper decking or body of a wagon (τετράκυκλος), or a wheelbarrow (μονόκυκλος), as opposed to the axle or wheels. Since no decking is listed with the τετράκυκλος at the City Eleusinion, this might suggest that we are dealing there with the means to transport long uncut timber, such as Kuniholm described at Gordium. There long juniper logs, averaging 25 feet, had a notch cut at one end with a hole in the middle. Into this notch was fitted a peg which was then joined to an axle with two wheels.[174] It seems unlikely that there would have been a need to transport such long uncut timbers at the City Eleusinion; probably the upper decking of the τετράκυκλος could have been easily made, when needed, from smaller cut timbers.

Lines 116-120 (II.56-60) are restored from 387.129-133 where they appear as follows:

387.129 [h]ύσπλεχς : I
[σ]τêλαι χσύλιναι : Δ II
[.]υρις δρόμον ἐφέλκεν : I
[δ]ίσκοι : IIII : σκαφεῖο[ν] : I
[λ]έβετε ἀπὸ στελôν : II

These lines taken separately make very little sense, but are quite comprehensible when viewed collectively as equipment used in connection with athletic competition, as John Mansfield has proposed.[175] The athletic competitions would have been held with the trieretic and the penteteric Great Eleusinia. I give here Mansfield's translation:

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[173] Orlandos II, 66.

[174] See Meiggs, p. 333, for further description and an eighteenth century drawing of how this transport worked, p. 344.

[175] Private communication.

starting machine—1
wooden posts—12
trailer for dragging over the race track—1
discuses—4; hoe—1
pair of caldrons from turning posts—2

Mansfield proposed that the hύσπλεχς, the starting machine, and eleven of the twelve posts made up the starting gates for foot races with one post serving as the turning post in the longer foot races. ID 1400.9, an Athenian account from Delos, provides another example of wooden posts belonging to a starting mechanism. On the hύσπλεξ see J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesüngen der Griechen*, ed. F. Brain, *SBWein* 249, 1-2 (1965-1968), II, pp. 54-56, 64-65, 84-85. For turning posts and lanes see S.G. Miller, "Turns and Lanes in the Ancient Stadium," *AJA* 84 (1980) 159-166. See also D. G. Romano, *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion*, *MemAmPhilSoc* 206 (Philadelphia 1993), especially pp. 81 ff.

The [σ]υρίς, from σύρω, drag, while not attested elsewhere, must surely be the ancient equivalent of the modern drag or drag combined with roller used to smooth the race course (δρόμος). *Cf.* IG II^2 1548.3-4 and 1550.3-4. Mansfield associated the discuses with the pentathlon. The hoe would have been used to prepare the pit for two events of the pentathlon as well: the long jump and wrestling. The λέβετε ἀπὸ στελôν would then have been caldrons, possibly dedicated prizes, adorning the turning-posts (stelai). For illustrations of such caldrons see R. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* ("Kerameus," 3; Mainz 1981), pp. 129, 31-34, G 1 (London 96.6-15.1), pl. 41, and pp. 34-35, G 2 (Istanbul 1426), fig. 21, pl. 38.1.

121 (II.61) [.... hμάντε] ἐσκυτομένο (σκυτόω) = worked in leather. We might conjecture that a rubric appeared here. From 387.135, we know there is a line intervening between λέβετε κτλ. and this entry. This suggests a rubric since the word, of which only the last two letters (ια) are preserved, began to the left of the column margin. In his edition of Eleusinian inscriptions, Clinton will propose and defend the following text of these lines:

σιδέρια hμάντε] ἐσκυτομένο [: II]
[ἀσκύτολος : I :] ἐφετερίαι : ΓII

122 (II.62) [.σκυτολος] This restoration is made from 387.136.

ἐφετερίαι : ΓII *LSJ* offers no definition; the word occurs only in this inscription. That it refers to something connected with building supplies, tools, etc., seems obvious, but beyond that we cannot go. On the basis of its possible derivation from ἐφίημι, Colin Edmonson suggested to me that perhaps ἐφετερία is some kind of boom for raising or lowering objects for the upper

part of the building project.

123 (II.63) [hέλοι : ΔΓ|]
This restoration suggested by 387.137 requires the omission of the aspirate in ἥλοι if the left margin is to be observed here or, more likely, two letters occupying one stoichos. *Cf.* 386.157, 161. While ἥλοι is not preserved in 387 and is, then, only tentative it is an attractive possibility. ἥλοι, "nails", appear quite frequently in other Eleusinian accounts concerned with building (IG II² 1672) but are otherwise absent from this inscription.

[βύρσ]α : || Hides. Unlike the hides in the City Eleusinion (386.34) whose Sicilian origin is noted, these hides are listed without further qualifiers.

θυρôν ζεύγος καινόν See above, on line 110.

124 (II.64) [σιδεροῖ τύ]λοι : ΔΔΓ τύλοι is preserved in 387.139. τύλος, peg (in wood); or dowel, bolt (if in iron).[176] The dowel could be either round or squared;[177] of metal or wood; if wood, often sheathed in iron.[178] These are weighed as well as counted, for the significance of which see below on line 125. The weights of these and the following items are given within the same line, not in the margin as elsewhere in this inventory.

125 (II.65) [μοχλοὶ σιδ]εροῖ : Δ||| μοχλοί: crowbars, levers. All adjustments, once a stone had been set near its final position, were made with the help of levers and rollers (μοχλοί, λοῖσθοι). *Cf.* IG II² 1673.17. Traces of their use still remain on the blocks. The many forms in which they appear reflect the diversity of levers and their uses. Most frequently they appear as small indentations hollowed into the upper surface of the block in place, close to where it would join the next course.[179]

μοχλοί were of iron some 0.03-0.04 m in diameter and 1 m to 1.5 m long.[180] The end was flattened and slightly curved to allow easy engagement of the block.[181] Interestingly these μοχλοί are weighed. This can be explained in either of two ways. Either the crowbars constituted a sufficient quantity of

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[176] Ginouvès/Martin 90.

[177] Ginouvès/Martin 92.

[178] For a complete discussion of the variety of pins, clamps and dowels employed and their use in fastening blocks together see Ginouvès/Martin, pp. 112-16. See also Martin, pp. 279-91.

[179] Martin 237-38.

[180] Orlandos II, 57.

[181] Ginouvès/Martin 124.

iron that they were weighed almost like the raw material (for they could be smelted and/or rehammered), or, their weight was given to allow for its measurement against the original weight of a new crowbar since they were probably sold by weight. Their weight could also have been a means of identifying their size, as is currently the case for hammers. In either case, if the sanctuary had the capacity for basic metal-working, as the χοάνα in line 127 further suggests, the weight of any potentially useful raw material would have been of interest. *Cf.* IG II^2 1672.303: μοχλῶν τρίνματα ΓΙΙΙ.

127 (III.6) χοίνικε σιδερᾶ = ἡ χοινίκη τοῦ τροχοῦ ἐν ᾧ στρέφεται ὁ ἄξων according to Hesychius, hence axle-box. This χοινίκη should be connected with the wagon parts listed above in lines 114-115.

Another definition is also possible on the basis of a comparison with IG II^2 1672.201, an Eleusinian account for the year 329/8. There the χοινικίς is a box or socket for the hinge of a door: χοινικίδες ταῖς θύραις τοῦ θησαυροῦ. On the basis of 386 there seems no way to decide between the two, especially since either could have been made of iron.

Orlandos[182] connected the χοινίκη here with the second meaning, a box or socket for a door hinge, citing the frequent occurrences of the terms χοινικές, χοινίκη and χοῖνιξ in inscriptions relating to doors. He maintained that door hinges frequently terminated in bronze sockets and cited inscriptions also from Delos (IG XI 2, 165.11, 28, 30: χοινικίδας ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας) and Epidauros (IG IV^2 I.102.43, 62/63, 73; 287A.102 and 504A.17).

τέρετρα are borers or gimlets, i.e., augers cranked by hand by means of a wood handle.[183] The τέρετρον and τρύπανον are important tools for wood-working artisans. They are the borers, the augers, the drills which are used for hollowing pieces of wood, for making joins, for executing mouldings.[184] The word τρύπανον was originally used for a bow-drill worked with a thong around it (*Od.*9.385); later it is used of any tool that turned.[185]

χοάνα A funnel or χόανος, the hollow in which metal was placed for casting, a melting-pot. Also the mould for casting metal, or, "le four cylindrique," as Orlandos[186] defined it more generally, a kiln or oven used to

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[182] Orlandos II, 119.

[183] Martin 43, n. 10. Ginouvès/Martin, pp. 74-75, describe the two principal varieties, the shell-auger and the bow-drill.

[184] Martin 43.

[185] See U. K. Duncan, "Notes on Lettering by some Attic Masons in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.," *BSA* 56 (1961) 179-88.

[186] Orlandos I, 109.

obtain superior quality iron. χωνεύω is the term used both to designate the activities of smelting (extracting the metal contained in a mineral by liquefication) or melting (the process of liquefying one or more metals with heat). While χοανεύω designates the process of casting, i.e., pouring molten metal into a mould which results in a cast, it should be noted that χοανεύω is used for this process with every metal but lead, for which a separate vocabulary was established (i.e., μολυβδοχοέω; μολυβδοχοΐα).[187] For a discussion regarding items indicative of on-site metal-working see above, on lines 21-22, 37.

128 (III.7) σμινύαι : IIII hoes.
A two-pronged hoe or mattock is also found in the Attic Stelai (II.130; III.12). Described by Ginouvès/Martin[188] as a tool consisting of a handle to which a blade is affixed at a more or less sharp angle, the hoe was used for working with mortar. Those found on Delos are iron. *Cf.* ID 104(28).18 and 104(29).27.

σιδερίο ηυπάμπρο ὕπαμπρος is otherwise unattested. ἄμπρον: a rope for drawing loads. See above on line 24. *Cf.* IG II² 1551.6-7.

129 (III.8) κλεῖθρα Bolts or bars for closing a door, most probably of iron. Orlandos[189] suggested bronze.

πρίον λιθοπρίστες πρίων is a saw which could be used for either wood or stone, but here obviously a stone saw (πρίων λιθοπρίστης) used for sawing soft-stone (tufa/poros). Its use dates from Minoan-Mycenaean times.[190] Martin further distinguished the wood saw from the stone saw, noting that the former has a dentilated edge while the λιθοπρίστης has a smooth edge like a knife (μαχαιρωτόν). Ginouvès/Martin[191] offer detailed descriptions of the toothed, hand, two-handed, frame, curve-backed, H-framed bone saw and the framed pit saw. They do not restrict the usage of any to a particular type of wood or stone. The πρίων λιθοπρίστης may have appeared in the now missing parts of the Attic Stelai since it is cited among the δημιόπρατα by Pollux (10.148).

130 (III.9) πρίστις *LSJ* offer only "a stone mason's implement." *Cf.*

187 Ginouvès/Martin 64.

188 Ginouvès/Martin 64.

189 Orlandos I, 105.

190 Martin 152.

191 Ginouvès/Martin 73.

Theophrastus (*Lap.* 5) who, when describing stone, uses πριστός for "sawn": γλυπτοὶ γὰρ ἔνιοι καὶ τορνευτοὶ καὶ πριστοί.[192]

καρκίνος Forceps, pincers, lifting tongs. The latter were undoubtedly used for timber as well as stone, for dressing it and putting it in place. The form of the instrument, obviously suggestive of the claws of a crab, determined its name (καρκίνος). Ginouvès/Martin[193] describe the καρκίνος as two metal pieces mounted on an axle (pivot) which manage, by applying pressure at their extremity, to lift the block. καρκίνος is also used for the compass, the instrument of measure used to trace arcs, circles and record their dimensions.[194]

Stone blocks carry marks on their upper surfaces in the form of triangular and curved grooves clearly from the use of such forceps.[195] καρκίνος is also mentioned by Pollux (10.148) among the δημιόπρατα: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς στήλαις ἀναγέγραπται πρίων λιθοπρίστης καὶ καρκίνος λίθους ἔχων. He adds further: εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ μηχανὴν λιθαγωγόν.

131 (III.10) σιδέρο παλινηαιρέτο The reuse of iron in the large amount recorded here (ΤΤΓ) is yet another example of the economy practiced by the administrators of the sanctuary, also demonstrated in general by this whole section listing building materials and equipment. This practice is likely to stem from the difficulty of obtaining raw materials, whether stone or metal, rather than some temporary wartime exigency. The presence of reused iron represents additional evidence for the likelihood that the sanctuary had the capacity for metal-working, at the very least, iron-working. See above on lines 21-22, 37 and 127.

132 (III.11) σφυροπέλεκυς Hammer-axe, that is a combination hammer and axe, which is most frequently used by the coppersmith.[196]

κόφινος: basket. *Cf.* IG II^2 1672.65, and above, line 38.

133 (III.12) σανίς Board, plank or tablet. Its meanings often overlap those of *pinax*. Among the definitions given by Pritchett[197] are "picture", "public

[192] *Cf.* Martin 152.

[193] Ginouvès/Martin 122.

[194] Ginouvès/Martin 76.

[195] Martin 213-15; figs. 93-97.

[196] Orlandos I, 30.

[197] Pritchett, *Stelai* 301-02.

notice", "chopping board". σανίδες were boards used in doors, gates, and walls. According to Meiggs[198] "sanides covers a wide range of uses: accounts were written on sanides before they were inscribed on stone, and artists painted sanides; the word is also appropriate for panels. Board is here [II² 1672] perhaps a more appropriate translation than plank." Hodge[199] favored plank, with the further qualification that the σανίς was "a reasonably large timber," on the basis of the fourth century Eleusinian inscription II² 1672, lines 151, 154, 157. According to Hodge the σανίς differed from the στρωτήρ (a rafter laid upon the bearing beam) and the δοκίς (a timber midway in size between a beam and a batten) in that it was "flat, not square in cross-section."

Without any qualifying terms, other than πτελέϊνε, it is difficult to know if σανίς is best translated here as board, plank or tablet. Because the cost of a plank depended on its size as well as the type of wood, we cannot conjecture about its cost here. See Pritchett for a discussion of the prices found in the fifth and fourth centuries. For a discussion of πτελέϊνε see above on line 27.

134 (III.13) χσύλα ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο : Δ

Sardemann[200] suggested that χσύλα ἐκ Ἀλκιβιάδο was a section heading of some kind. Simple word order is against this. If this were a rubric we would expect ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο κτλ. In addition, the line should begin three spaces to the left of the column margin. Therefore, if ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο is a rubric, it is not a rubric of the *same kind* as Ἐλευσîνι or Αἰγιναîοι.

Rather than regarding ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο as a rubric which may suggest how to restore the poorly preserved part of the text which follows we might consider it as identifying the source of the items which precede it. At least the ξύλα are identified as ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο. It has already been noted that the source of the dedications in lines 64-69 follows the items. Similarly ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδο might follow the items to which it refers. While not every item in the preceding lines also appears among the Attic Stelai, many do. A comparison shows that σμινύη, καρκίνος, κόφινος, σανίς and χσύλα all appear in the extant portions of the stelai while πρίων λιθοπρίστης is cited by Pollux as one of the δημιόπρατα.[201]

Meiggs[202] suggested that these timbers from the estate of Alcibiades probably came originally from Macedonia, Italy or Asia Minor, where those

198 Meiggs 435.

199 Hodge 123.

200 Sardemann 25.

201 A. Pippin, "The Demioprata of Pollux X," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 318-28.

202 Meiggs 209.

able to afford such expense would have procured wood of greater variety and quality than could be had from local (Attic or Euboean) sources. According to this reasoning, it is their quality and origin which account for the presence of this wood in the Eleusinian inventories.

Pemberton[203] alternately proposed that "the most plausible interpretation is to assume that the wood came from confiscated properties of Alkibiades: χσύλα καύσιμα ([Attic Stelai] V.7) and χσύ]λα τετράγονο ([Attic Stelai] VI.39) both appear in the confiscation stelai...." She concluded that Eleusis's holding of Alcibiades' forested property is further evidence of the sanctuary's and its officials' hostility to Alcibiades. She then suggested the additional possibility that Alcibiades had donated the wood for work at Eleusis since we are told that his property was returned to him.

Pemberton's attempt to take the tools listed in the preceding lines as indicative of some particular construction project to which Alcibiades donated wood is extremely doubtful, however. Given that this document offers evidence for no current building project, it is preferable to consider these objects as standard items belonging to the sanctuary.

From the form of the entry (ἐκ τôν Ἀλκιβιάδου) it seems reasonable to conclude that this wood (whether some exotic timber purchased by Alcibiades or wood from his land) is from the confiscated goods belonging to Alcibiades which had been auctioned off. It would be interesting to know whether this was turned over to the sanctuary from the δημιόπρατα or bought at auction by the epistatai themselves.

135ff.(III.14ff) Here follow nine poorly preserved lines. They are not included in the preserved parts of 387. From what remains we can conclude that the items are of the same kind as those in the preceding lines.

[κον]τός Hiller read κοντός, a "pole" or "shaft" here. Citing this occurrence, *LSJ* offers "spars or bars used in building operations." Ginouvès/Martin[204] also define κοντός as a pole, stick or rod but offer more precise dimensions—usually less than 5 cm in diameter but in length greater than the height of a person.

κôπαι = κόπη, the handle of an oar. Here *LSJ* suggest "spars or bars used in building-operations."

σχοινία Rope, cord, or line. Also a guy rope or stay which would be affixed to the top of props or struts with the other end fixed in the ground at a distance in order to regulate lateral movement.[205] The records of the

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[203] "Dedications by Alkibiades and Thrasyboulous," *ABSA* 76 (1981) 316, n. 67.

[204] Ginouvès/Martin 27.

[205] Ginouvès/Martin 119.

epimeletai of dockyards suggest that the items in this line could be related to the ἄκατος, for which see below, on lines 159-160. *Cf.* IG II² 1611.382: σχοινία, ἀγκύρας, κοντούς. If these are all related to ships, then κῶπαι and κοντός could be taken as oars and poles, not building-related tools.

136 (III.15) κάδος Pail, jar, cask. The word appears in the Attic Stelai II.191; II.13; V.5.

κανῶν = κανοῦν: a basket of reed or cane, bread-basket. Those from the Parthenon were often gold overlaid on wood or bronze. *Cf.* IG II² 1378.21: κανῶν χρυσῶν ὑπόχαλκον; 1396.a3: κανῶν χρυσῶν ὑπόξυλον.

φιάλη This flat bowl or cup was probably intended for daily use unlike the dedicatory ones listed earlier in lines 15 and 65. See above, on line 15, for further discussion of phialai.

137 (III.16) ṭοδανιπτε̂[ρ]ας So restored by Sardemann and Philios. These are vessels for washing feet (*cf. SEG* 24.361.11) needed by travellers arriving at the sanctuary as well as those at the sanctuary.[206] The placement of ritual water basins was common at sanctuary entrances to serve both as boundaries between sacred and secular places and so that water would be available for purification prior to participation in any ceremonies.[207]

138 (III.17) πίναχς Board or plank. There is no need to bracket as Sardemann and Hiller do. The word has many meanings, including "hard piece of wood," "plate" or "table." In the fifth century it usually referred to a piece of wood on which something had been written, drawn or painted. Such is the definition given to it by Pritchett when it appears in the Attic Stelai (VII.59, 60-61, 62), although there it is always coupled with a modifying adjective.[208] See below, line 168, for a more complete discussion.

138 (III.17) o[....] is restored as o[ἰνοχόαι----] by Sardemann from his fragments F (I³ 339) and G (I³ 385). It would be consistent with the character of the other objects here. See below, line 141.

139 (III.18) [καναῦσ]τρον is restored here by both Sardemann and Hiller. This

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[206] Tomlinson 223.

[207] Susan Guettel Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries," in *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26-29 June 1986.* Edited by R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist. *Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet, Athen SkrStockholm* 4°, 38 (Stockholm 1988) 162.

[208] Pritchett, *Stelai* 250-53.

term for "wicker basket" is mentioned by Pollux (10.86) among the items being sold at public auction. With the entire line missing before -τρον, the possible restorations are many.

140 (III.19) [.....[17].....]τερια Hiller restored [πο]τερίο. Sardemann[209] suggested κρηστηρίο, a meat-tray, on the basis of his fragments H (IG II 682c) and J (*ArchEph* (1883) 137 (361/360)). There are a number of possible restorations.

141 (III.20) [.....[15].....ὀ]βελίσκοι..... This reading was made both by Sardemann and Hiller. ὀβελίσκος is usually translated as small skewer or spit. Such is the meaning given to it for both occurrences in the Attic Stelai (I.93-94; II.132) by Pritchett.[210] *LSJ* states that here "nails" are more probable. So too Ginouvès/Martin who define it alternately as a long iron nail usually used to join wood or as a dowel or bolt.[211]

[δραχμαὶ ὀ]βελίσκ[ον], "sets of spits", seems tempting as a restoration on the basis of *SEG* 24.361, where Tomlinson identified them as "surely utilitarian objects, required for roasting the meat of the animals sacrificed to Hera and subsequently distributed to the worshipper. Indeed it might be supposed that this is the normal reason for the dedication or depositing of spits in sanctuaries."[212] Space does not permit ὀβελίσκον δραχμαί, hence I propose [.....[8].... δραχμαὶ ὀ]βελίσκ[ον-- here.

Comparison of the objects listed in lines 136-143 (III.15-22) of I^3 386 with those in *SEG* 24.361 suggests that we have here a list of utensils for a similar purpose, that is for the preparation and serving of food as well as furniture appropriate for dining: the κάδος and φιάλη (line 136); ποδανιπτῆρας (line 139); [πο]τερίο or κρησ[τερίο] (line 140); [δραχμαὶ ὀ]βελίσκ[ον] (line 141); [κρεά]γρα in line 142; and κλ[ῖναι .. τράπεζ]αι (line 143). All are items used in food preparation or in dining. Thus we could have evidence in lines 136-143 for the preparation and consumption of sacrifices or for a hestiatorion, a formal dining hall, and its kitchen. For an unpublished fifth century inventory from Brauron which lists similar items (κλῖναι μιλεσιοργες (sic), προσκεφάλαια λινὰ καὶ ἔρια, πέλεκυς, χαλκία θερμαντήρια, λέβητες, ὀβελίσχοι, χυτρίδες χαλκαί, κρεάγραι), see *SEG* 37.34, 35, 89. For a more complete description

[209] Sardemann 26.

[210] Pritchett, *Stelai* 312-13.

[211] Ginouvès/Martin 89-90.

[212] Tomlinson 221-28. See also N. Platon and M. Feyel, "Inventaire Sacré de Thespies," *BCH* 62 (1938) 149-66, for their edition and discussion.

of hestiatoria in sanctuaries, see Michael Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600-300 B.C.* (Diss. UC Berkeley 1978), who surveys the archaeological evidence. See especially pp. 155-162 where he discusses the remains at Eleusis. During the 1955-1956 excavations of the area West of the Great Propylaia towards the West fortification wall Travlos identified a building in which two rooms on the North side (each ca. 4.20 m square) served as dining rooms (hestiatoria). Characteristics which support this identification include 1) doors off center to the left; 2) a low platform "appropriate for the placement of couches" along the walls; and, 3) subsidiary rooms nearby which could have served as a kitchen and storage rooms. We do not know that the equipment listed in this portion of the inventory was located here, but it is certainly an attractive possibility.

Since the number of κλῖναι is not preserved, we have no way of guessing the number of rooms here. By the end of the 5th century a room holding eleven couches was the standard, although certainly not the only number.[213] Given that we do not have here as many, or as diverse, items as are listed in *SEG* 24.361, and coupled with the fact that what we might consider adequate or essential is not always borne out by the evidence, e.g. only one chamber pot is listed in *SEG* 24.361 for a hestiatorion of five eleven-couch rooms, it is difficult to make an exact comparison of the two lists or assume a particular number of rooms.

142 (III.21) [.....[15].....]γρα The restoration offered by Hiller is [πυρά]γρα, a pair of fire tongs or pincers. [κρεά]γρα, meat hook, which appears in the Attic Stelai (II.133) is also possible.

λυχ[νεῖο] or λυχ[νεῖα] seems probable here. The dual (λυχ[νεῖο]) seems more likely, given that two unit signs are preserved in 387.167. The lamp-stand probably took the shape of either 1) a tripod, 2) a stand ring, or 3) a spike designed to go through the central hole of a circular lamp. Pritchett thought the wooden ones in the Attic Stelai (II, 199-200) were probably of the third kind.[214] Sardemann[215] suggested iron. σιδερᾶ cannot be easily restored in the space following λυχνεῖα, where only 5 spaces remain, at least one of which must contain a number.

143 (III.22) κλ[ῖναι .. τράπεζ]αι : Γ III
The restoration offered by Hiller, Sardemann and Lewis, κοφίνοι, is incorrect.

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213 Tomlinson 224. In the Brauron catalogue cited above (*SEG* 37.34, 35, 89), the number of κλῖναι were given as 9, 10, and 11 per room.

214 Pritchett, *Stelai* 240-41.

215 Sardemann 26.

Since the second letter is lambda, rather than omicron, κλῖναι seems the logical restoration, especially as τράπεζαι probably follows. There would then be two spaces available for the number of κλῖναι inventoried. κλίνη, a couch or bed, was used for sleeping, banquets and funerals.[216] Its dimensions as well as the wood of which it was made must have varied as would the cost. κλίνη appears repeatedly in the Attic Stelai as would be expected for an extremely common piece of furniture.

With eleven the standard number of couches per room (see above line 141) it is tempting to restore Δ I , for the number of couches. Yet ΔΓ (15 couch room) or ΓII (7 couch room) are equally possible, since the number of rooms with which we are dealing is not known. Also possible is 𐅄ΓΓ (5 rooms each with 11 couches) or 𐅄Δ (4 rooms each containing 15 couches). According to Goldstein[217] the two rooms identified by Travlos as dining rooms measured ca. 4.20 m each and would have accommodated 7 klinai each, with the klinai measuring ca. 1.701 m (length) x 0.85 (width). Goldstein's survey of dining rooms show the average measurements for κλῖναι at 1.80 m in length (1.45-2.42 m range); 0.85 m in width (0.70-0.97 m range); +0.40 m height (c. 0.27-0.56+ m range). Restoration of 14 (Δ IIII) is possible here, but would require 4 unit signs to occupy one stoichos. If there were fourteen κλῖναι here, then the inventory would agree with the number of rooms identified by Travlos. Alternately, these klinai might have been extras, or for some other use altogether. Thus the number of κλῖναι inventoried here must remain conjectural.

τράπε]ζαι : Γ I I I Tables. Pritchett[218] noted that τράπεζα originally meant "four-footed" and was the term given to a table around which people ate. When dining from couches became the custom, a much smaller table was used. The table most common in the fifth century, to judge from vase paintings, was a small and rectangular one with a leg at each corner on one side and one leg centered on the other. τράπεζα was still the term used for this three-legged table, although it was also sometimes called τρίπους. For the frequent references in the Attic Stelai, see Pritchett. For an eleven couch room, Tomlinson[219] posited either six or seven tables, since some couches would have been able to share tables. If we can assume any correlation between the number of tables and couches recorded here, then eight tables might suggest 11

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[216] Pritchett, *Stelai* 227ff.

[217] M. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600-300 B.C.* (Diss. U.C. Berkeley 1978). See also *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor 1991), for a discussion of dining and symposia in the Greek and Roman world.

[218] Pritchett, *Stelai* 241ff.

[219] Tomlinson 224.

or 15 as the number of couches to be restored. *Cf. SEG* 37.35, the unpublished catalogue from Brauron which lists nine tables for eleven couches, and six tables for both nine and ten couch rooms. See also Goldstein (p. 305) for a discussion of the evidence for tables. He described them, in contrast to Tomlinson, as fairly large. Those in the Argive Heraeion measured 1.00 x 0.60 x 0.60 m.

κιβοτ̣[ός or τιον] A chest or box. For the restoration, see 387.171. The Greek κιβοτός seems to have been a box, large or small, which had a hinged lid which might be raised, closed and made fast.[220] κιβωτοί were made of wood with lids attached by metal hinges. κιβότιον is the diminutive of κιβώτος and so may mean "small box" but it can also have the meaning of "box" regardless of size. While both Sardemann and Hiller restored κιβο[τὸς δίθυρος], the use of a qualifying adjective is ruled out by 387.171.

Lines 70-135 (II.10-III.14) comprise a list of building materials and related tools and equipment. Stone blocks are listed in lines 70-96 by their measurement and the degree to which they have been worked. Two rubrics differentiate their source (lines 78, 92). Additional rubrics similar in kind to the two preserved are possible in those lines no longer preserved. Wood listed in lines 96-101 is also differentiated by measurement, degree to which it has been cut and, in one instance, its source. Various architectural members taken down from the Archaic Telesterion follow in lines 102-110, plus new roof tiles, doors and rafters. A section devoted to equipment for building maintenance follows from line 111 as indicated by the *paragraphos*: large pieces include block and tackle equipment and the upper parts of wagons; smaller tools include a stone straight-edge, crow-bars, saws and pincers; wood from Alcibiades' property appears near the end of the section. While no *paragraphos* is preserved to demarcate these items from those listed in lines 136-143, this last section contains equipment more suitable to a kitchen and dining-room than to a building construction site or workroom. While rubrics are not everywhere preserved (Clinton would restore, in addition, σιδέρια in line 121 for the objects in line 122-131), it seems fairly clear that the different classes of equipment listed in these lines are appropriately grouped and recorded, probably by location, by the epistatai.

Lines 144-183 (III.23-62) The inventory section of the inscription ends at this point. Lines 144-183 deal with the receipts and expenditures—the accounting—for the year. I use the term accounting here only in its general sense of record-keeping, since neither the Greeks nor the Romans made use of the double-entry book-keeping system which we associate with accounting. As de Ste. Croix explained: "The Greeks and Romans, far from reaching the

[220] Pritchett, *Stelai* 220-25.

advanced stage of accounting at which double entry becomes possible, thought, and kept their books, mainly in terms of receipts and expenditures rather than debit and credit; and furthermore ... they never even got as far as the habitual separation of what we should call debit and credit entries by inserting them in two separate columns, let alone on opposite pages of an account."[221] This is not to suggest a failure on the part of either the Greeks or Roman because they never developed a double-entry system of bookkeeping.[222] In a cash economy where a system of credit was not developed there was little need for such a complicated system. The expenditures recorded here are of the most basic kind, representing a much more limited scope of activities for the year than are shown, for example, in IG II^2 1672 and 1673, which are essentially the fourth century equivalents to this section. It is precisely because of the very limited kind of expenditures recorded here as compared with those of 329/8 (IG II^2 1672) that we can say without hesitation that no building activity was being carried out in 408/7. What expenses were incurred during the year are all directly related to the cult or some minor maintenance of cult properties.

144 (III.23) ἐπέτεια [λέμματα ἐκ τô]ν μεγάλον μυ[στερίον] The reading offered by Hiller must be rejected because of insufficient space. The lacuna is two spaces too short to accommodate Hiller's restoration. ἐγένετο may be substituted, then, for ἐπεγένετο, as Meritt and Clinton[223] have already suggested, and has been adopted by Lewis (I^3). This satisfies the spacing while not altering the meaning. Clinton now proposes λέμματα which better suits this entry and the following sum, which seems to represent the amount of money paid to the sacred officials of the cult of Demeter and Kore. The amount due to each of the officials, all of which went to the treasury of the Two Goddesses, is set out in the *lex sacra* (IG I^3 6) dated to ca. 460 B.C.[224]

145 (III.24) XXXXHH[HΓΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢]⊢⊢IIII This sum represents the total income amassed from the fees paid to the sacred officials at the Greater Mysteries for this year, minus the cost of sacrificial victims, etc. While the restored figure printed by Hiller is one possibility (XXXXH[HΓΔΔΔΔΓ⊢⊢⊢]

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221 "Greek and Roman Accounting," *Studies in the History of Accounting* (Homewood, Il. 1956) 14-74.

222 Indeed, it should also be remembered that while double-entry bookkeeping is the norm today for *accountants*, most small *businesses* continue to do business and keep their books based simply on receipts and expenditures.

223 Clinton, *Inscriptions* 26, n. 103.

224 See Clinton, *Officials* 10-13, for a text and discussion of this *lex sacra*.

Ͱ IIII), the five figures offered by Sardemann[225], including the figure restored by Lewis (XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΔΔΓ ͰͰ]Ͱ IIII), 4,399 drachmas 4 obols, must be rejected because of space considerations. Other possible restorations include the following:

XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΔΔΓͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,398 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HHΠΔΔΔΓͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,488 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HHΠΔΔΔΔΓ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,497 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HHΠΔΔΔΔͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,493 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΔΔͰͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,394 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HHΔΔΔΔΓͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,448 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HHΔΔΔΔͰͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,444 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΓͰͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,389 drachmas and 4 obols,
XXXXHH[HΔΔΔΔΓͰͰ]ͰͰIIII	=	4,349 drachmas and 4 obols.

Assuming that XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΓͰͰ]ͰͰIIII , 4,389 drachmas 4 obols, the lowest of the numbers possible, is the correct one, let us see what conclusion can be drawn regarding the number of initiates in 408. From the fees recorded in IG I³ 6 Clinton[226] concluded the following: "If we assume that the hierophant and daduch each received a total of four obols from each initiate at the Mysteries and if we add to this the amount which the priestess and the other priests received, viz., four obols, each initiate will have contributed twelve obols at the Greater Mysteries. Dividing 4,299 2/3 drachmas (25,798 obols) by 12 obols, we arrive at a reasonable total of approximately 2,150 initiates for the year 408/7—provided of course that the fees were approximately the same as forty years earlier." If a higher figure is correct, the number of initiates would be correspondingly greater. We will show below (p. 197) that the correct figure is XXXXHH[HΠΔΔΔΔͰͰ]ͰͰIIII (4,394 drachmas 4 obols) or XXXXHH [HΠΔΔΔΔΓͰ]ͰͰIIII (4,398 drachmas 4 obols). Using the same calculations here suggests that there were approximately 2200 initiates, but the number may actually have been higher, since the λέμματα here do not include the *total* income from initiates, but only the total income less the cost of certain religious ἀναλόματα. (See IG I³ 6.15-18.)

146 (III.25) ΔΔΔΔΓII ἐκ τ̣[ôν ῾Αγραι]σι μυστερίον

The text printed by Hiller and Lewis is in error. ἐκ [τôν ἐν ῾Αγραι]σι is too long for the available space. With the omission of ἐν we can satisfy both the sense and the space requirement. I also read one additional obol sign. This brings the total income for the Lesser Mysteries to 45 drachmas and 2 obols.

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225 Sardemann 37.

226 Clinton, *Officials* 13, n. 13.

The Lesser Mysteries were held once a year in early spring, in the month of Anthesterion, at Agrai on the banks of the Ilissos.

The low figure for this part of the Mysteries indicates poor attendance. One explanation for this is the fact that the Lesser Mysteries were not obligatory for initiation into the Greater Mysteries.[227] Another explanation might be found in the Spartan occupation of Decelea.

147 (III.26) 𐅄 τε[μένος μίσ]θοσιν ἐκ Κύθνο

With the correct calculation of the number of spaces in the lacuna, we see there is no need for the gemination of the sigma in μίσθωσις, as Hiller and Lewis have printed. 500 drachmas is here the recorded income received, presumably as rent for land on Kythnos owned by the Goddesses. The large sum of money paid for the rental of this property is surprising. 𐅄 is clearly visible, nonetheless. This sort of yearly income, however, is what made possible the acquisition of sufficient wealth to allow sanctuaries to make loans to individuals and states, such as that recorded in IG I^3 369. The importance of real estate to the classical *polis* budget, as noted by Heichelheim,[228] can be said to apply to sanctuaries as well.

148 (III.27) λέμματ[ο]ς σύμπ[αν κ]εφάλαιον : TTT𐅄HHH[ΗIIIIC]

The total of the year's receipts is recorded here. The figure that appears in I^2 is considerably lower than it should be. 𐅄 (5000 drachmas) should be read in place of 𐅄 (500), as Lewis has correctly in I^3. We can say with certainty that the total amount received was not less than 23,300 drachmas. This is entirely reasonable given the lowest possible figure for the receipts from the Greater Mysteries. Money received from the epistatai of the preceding year includes (lines 5-9):

ἀπαρχέ	XHΔΔΔΓΗΗIII	=	1,137 drachmas 3 obols
Αἰγιναῖοι	III	=	3 obols
ἀργυρίο ἐπίσεμο	TT𐅄HHΔΔΗΗIIIIC	=	17,223 drachmas 4 1/2 obols
			18,361 drachmas 4 1/2 obols
Received income for the current year:			
ἐκ τôν Ἄγραισι	ΔΔΔΔΓII	=	45 drachmas 2 obols
ἐκ Κύθνο	𐅄	=	500 drachmas
			545 drachmas 2 obols

[227] Clinton, *Officials* 13, n. 13.

[228] F. Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History*. Translated and revised by J. Stevens (Leiden 1957) 133.

18,361 drachmas 4 1/2 obols + 545 drachmas 2 obols gives a total of 18,907 drachmas 1/2 obol.

If XXXXHH[HP ΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢]⊢⊢IIII (4,394 drachmas and 4 obols) is the correct total for the revenue received from the Greater Mysteries, as will be shown below (p. 197) the total income received for the year from the sources listed in lines 144-147 is 4,940 dr. This added to that money received from the preceding board equals λέμματος σύμπαν κεφάλαιον: 23,301 drachmas 4 1/2 obols or TTTPHHH[⊢IIIIC] to be restored here. If the higher number, 4,398 drachmas 4 obols, is restored in line 145, then the total here would be four drachmas higher: TTTPHHH[ΓIIIIC].

149 (III.28) ἀναλόματος κεφάλαιον ἐς τὲν ἄκατ[ον]

A series of expenses is now recorded which most probably related to the preparation of the sanctuary for the Greater Mysteries. The reading of the first of these, concerning a small ship, can be slightly improved from that offered by previous editors. What role the ἄκατος played in the Mysteries is not known. Since Alcibiades did not conduct the *pompe* by land until 407 (Xen. *Hellenica* I.4.20; Plut. *Alcibiades* 34.3-5), perhaps this light vessel or ship carried the sacred objects by sea during the years when the Spartan occupation of Decelea prevented the *pompe* by land.

150 (III.29) ⊢⊢⊢I λιβανοτός, μυ[ρ]ρίναι

Frankincense (λιβανωτός) and myrtle (μυρρίνη) are purchased for 3 drachmas 1 obol. The use of myrtle is well attested for the Mysteries. The daduch carried a myrtle staff and wore a wreath of myrtle as did the hierophant and other priests.[229] The initiates also carried myrtle staffs.[230] In the Hellenistic period, the myrtle crown was given by the Eleusinian gene to honor benefactors.[231]

151-152 τὸλ λίθος ἀνασ[κ]ευάσαι
(III.30-31) ΔΔ[.]⊢III ἐκ τô hιερô

For the assimilation of sigma before lambda see now Threatte 48.08 (p. 658). What stones were unpacked or dismantled from the sanctuary is unclear. Rather than indicating some building activity this probably represents an effort to ready the sanctuary for the celebration of the Mysteries.

153-154 ⊢ ἀμφορῆς hύδατο[ς...]
(III.32-33) τὸ h[ιε]ρὸν ἀνακ[αθῆραι]

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229 Clinton, *Officials* 33, 48.

230 Clinton, *Officials* 103-04.

231 Clinton, *Officials* 23.

The amphorae of water served in the purification or cleaning of the sanctuary. There are two likely restorations possible, both with the same sense. Cavaignac proposed [τὸ ηιε]ρὸν ἀνακ[αθάραντι], while Sardemann, Hiller and Lewis preferred τ[ὸ] h[ιε]ρὸν ἀνακ[αθῆραι καὶ]. On the basis of consistency it is impossible to choose between them because the infinitive appears two lines earlier (ἀνασκευάσαι), while the participle is used seven lines later. Given the parallel for the next lines available in IG II^2 1672.140-141, it is perhaps better to read the infinitive. However, II^2 1540.54-55 (ἀλείψαντι....καθήραντι) and II^2 1672.231 (ἐπισκευάσαντι) use the participle. Whatever the precise reading, we are still concerned here with sanctuary preparations.

No καί is read here or in the following line on the assumption that these constituted separate entries each with its own price. With nothing preserved to the left of the column here we cannot rule out the possibility that one person performed both tasks and was paid one sum. If this was the case, then one καί should be restored, probably in this line.

155 (III.34) [τὸν βομὸν] περια[λεῖφσαι]
Hiller read [τὸμ βομόν]. If there is no reason to connect this altar with a Plutonion, as the reading in the next line now shows, the two altars of the Goddesses could be the ones referred to here. *Cf.* IG II^2 1672.140ff: τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Πλούτωνος περιαλεῖψαι καὶ κονιάσαι καὶ λευκῶσαι καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῖν θεοῖν.

156 (III.35) τὰς θύρα[ς ..]ρι[...
Sardemann, Hiller and Lewis all read τὰς θύρα[ς τô] Πλ[ούτωνος]. Cavaignac, however, proposed a different reading due to what appeared to have been his different reading of the letters actually preserved here: τὰς θύρας [ἀλ]εί[πσαντι.]. My reading of the text would support neither of these restorations. The letter following rho is clearly not lambda but an iota, or, less likely, a one unit sign. See the epigraphical commentary for a description of what appears on the stone. Removing Πλ[ούτωνος] as a possible restoration supports my proposed restoration for the line preceding. In his corpus of Eleusinian inscriptions, Clinton will propose:

τὰς θύρα[ς πε]ρι[αλεῖψαι vacat]
ἐν τêι ἑορτêι ἀν[οῖχσαι

For a discussion of the revised reading of these lines and its significance for the sanctuary of Plouton at Eleusis see Kevin Clinton's *Myth and Cult, The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, The Martin Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, XI (Stockholm 1992)),

especially pp. 20-23.

157 (III.36) ἐν τεῖ ἑορτεῖ ἀν[οἶχσαι]
Cavaignac preferred ἀν[οίχσαντι]. The verb here clearly refers back to the doors mentioned in the preceding line. What doors are meant to be opened are not specified. Those of the Propylaia are the most likely.

158 (III.38) ⊦ τὰς σπέρας κατακ[.....[16].....]
A restoration for the lacuna here is not immediately apparent from other Eleusinian inscriptions. σπεῖρα denotes "anything twisted or wound," often a rope or cable. It is unlikely that σπεῖρα here refers to the rounded moulding on the base of an Ionic column. *Cf.* IG I³ 474.64. Clinton suggested the following restoration: τὰς σπέρας κατακ[λεῖσαι]. This could be translated "to fasten down ropes" or "shut in column bases." Within the context of the other preparations being made, the activity referred to here is not readily identifiable.

159-160 πλίνθοι : HHHH : ἐν[ο]ι̣κοδο̣[μέθεσαν]
(III.35-36) hêι tὲν ἄκατον̣ καθὲλκον
This is our only indication of any building-related activity during the year. πλίνθος without any further qualification suggests a terra-cotta brick cast and dried in the sun.[232] πλίνθος can refer to regular blocks of isodomic appearance as well as bricks;[233] the expense here indicates that it is a matter of bricks. Taken together with the line following, we can assume that 400 bricks were built up, or set into place, where the ἄκατος, the small vessel, was drawn or carried down. This cost a minimum of 16 ([ᵛ] ΔΓ⊦), possibly 66 ([.ᴾ]ΔΓ⊦) or, 166 ([H ᴾ]ΔΓ⊦) drachmas. While this second entry mentioning the light ship helps to provide some additional information concerning the ἄκατος, it does not really clarify its function in the cult at Eleusis.

161 (III.40) Δ⊦ σανίδια ἐν οἷς τὸς μύστας κ[αγ]ράφο[σι]
The reading which appears in the Corpus text at this point is incorrect. Only 2 spaces are missing between the preserved first and fourth letters here. κ[ατα γ]ράφοσι cannot be restored here, although that is the word which the mason intended. It seems unlikely that two letters occupied each of the two available spaces. It is more likely that the mason carved the alpha. Instead of following it with -τα- he mistakenly assumed that he had carved the second

232 Martin 49, n. 1.

233 Ginouvès/Martin 56, n. 317.

alpha and so proceeded onto the gamma. So κ[α<τα>γ]ράφοσι.[234]

The price of σανίδια is at least eleven drachmas, possibly more. The Eumolpidae recorded the names of the initiates each year. It is possible that the names and the initiation fees were recorded together on the σανίδια.[235]

162 (III.41) ΗΗΗΙΙΙ Εὐμολπίδαις

Here the Eumolpidae are paid at least 3 drachmas 3 obols for performing the task of recording the names of the initiates mentioned in the preceding line.

163-4 ἐφ' ἱερᾷι συκῆι κέραμον
(III.42-43) ΗΗ σκευ̣[ά]σαντι

This is the sacred fig where the procession led by the ephebes paused on their way from Eleusis to Athens as they carried the *hiera* of Demeter back to Athens prior to the celebration of the Greater Mysteries.[236] Pausanias (1.37.2) tells us that here the hero Phytalos received Demeter on her way to Eleusis. In return for his hospitality, the Goddess gave him the fig. The epigram on the tomb of Phytalos testified to this. At least two drachmas were paid for the necessary preparations which involved a terracotta tile roof of some sort, presumably to protect this sacred fig tree.

165-167 σ[τέλε]ν Ἑλ[ε]υσῖνι ἐργασ[α]μένοι
(III.44-46) ΠΔΗΗ καὶ [γρά]μμ[α]τα ἐγκο̣λά[φσαν]τι
καὶ ἐ[λάσ]αντι

The preparation and inscription of a stele, for which 62 drachmas is paid, is here recorded. The exact purpose for which this stele was intended is left unspecified. The most likely explanation is that this is the stele used for the publication of the previous year's inventory. The use of the *paragraphos* suggests that the fee given above for the work related to the stele did not include the preparation of the σανίδια. In his edition, Clinton will propose the restoration ἐ[γκέ]αντι in line 167.

168-169 σανίδ̣[ια.] ΙΙ ὀ[νόματα?
(III.47-48) Γ ⁘ καὶ γρ[άμματα ἐγγράφσαντι]

The reading printed by Hiller is in error. One space remains between the word σανίδια and the two preserved numbers. This suggests that a greater number of σανίδια are involved. A possible restoration for the word following, of which only the initial omicron remains, is ὀνόματα. It should have something to do

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[234] *Cf.* B. D. Meritt, "The Prytanies of 408/7 B.C.," *ArchCl* 25-26 (1973-74) 436, n. 11.

[235] See Clinton, *Officials* 26.

[236] Mylonas 246. Philostratus, *Vita Soph* II.20.

with the following line. Five drachmas are paid for this and whatever appeared in the lacuna of the preceding line. In view of the preceding lines, 165-167, and the possible connection of this line with them, I have restored the participle here instead of following Hiller (ἐγγράφσαι).

A review of the most frequently occurring terms, including σανίς and πίναξ, denoting wooden tablets and their use in the publication of information in ancient Greece can be found in A. Wilhelm's *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde*.[237] Wilhelm followed Th. Homolle in distinguishing what was recorded on papyrus, wood and marble. On papyrus would be recorded copies of contracts mutually agreed upon by individuals. Wood served for the publication of documents in need of temporary viewing. Each year a certain number of tablets, painted white, would have been used for such public notification. Stone was reserved for laws, decrees and regulations of particular gravity or importance which were considered to have a more enduring authority or nature.

De Ste. Croix,[238] commenting on ancient writing materials, suggested that wooden tablets were used more frequently than papyrus everywhere but Egypt. "The wood was either whitened to receive ink from a pen or, more usually, covered with wax on which writing could be scratched with a stilus—and then if necessary obliterated, and the tablet used again and again. A complete set of tablets would be made up of two or more wooden leaves, pierced at the edges and held together by thongs: two or three leaves were particularly common, but four or five were not unusual, and we know of tablets with as many as ten leaves, though not more." The choice of wooden tablets was understandable given their almost infinite capacity for re-use as well as the ease with which alterations could be made to their texts. *Cf. Ath. Pol.* (48.2-3) where the Apodektai must make a record of receipts and disbursements γράψαντες ἐν σάνιδι. Similarly, anyone wishing to bring charges against a magistrate would do so γράψας εἰς πινάκιον λελευκωμένον. Most averaged seven inches by five or six inches, since larger wooden tablets would most likely be clumsy to handle. Similarly the number of tablets which could be bound together would have been limited as well.

The *paradosis* of items stored in the temple but not listed on the stele (ἐν δὲ τῆι στ[ήληι ο]ὐκ ἐνόντα, II² 1518.63-64) at Brauron prompted Linders[239] to conclude that an archive of copies not engraved on stone must have existed. A portable copy would have been useful not only for those checking the inventory, but also for the stone cutter in cutting the inscription. Given the

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237 (Vienna 1909) 239-49.

238 *Op.cit.* (*supra*, n. 221) 69.

239 Linders, *AB* 42, n. 59.

importance attached to the stele itself, that is to the version as it appeared in the permanent inscription, it is not altogether surprising that so little is heard of the more commonplace copies on material other than stone. Linders cited one interesting example from Delos (ID 287A.197) and translated thus "—to the man who copies the accounts and the *paradoseis* of the votive offerings and the leases of the sacred land, 250 dr., —for a tablet of cypress wood, 10 dr., to the man who writes it out, 15 dr., writing tablets for the accounts and the contracts and the *paradosis*, 1 dr. 4 obols, to the man who writes them out, 10 dr."

While Wilhelm[240] cited a third century Delian mason who was paid 1 drachma for inscribing 300 letters on marble, this method of payment does not appear to have been used in Athens, either for marble inscription or for painting on wooden tablets. The Erechtheum account (IG I^3 476.188-192) records the expenditure of two drachmas for two sanides on which accounts are made of the expenditures of the ταμίαι τῆς θεο. Most early Attic documents spelling out the inscription of their contents do not give any details regarding cost (IG I^3 11; 71; 78). Those few of the fourth and third centuries which do have a preserved cost give a total of 30 or 50 drachmas for the entire operation (IG II^2 120.17-22; 463.31-34; 806.4-8; 809.4-8). Given the lack of Attic examples, it is not safe to infer that payment by number of letters inscribed, apparently a common practice in Delos in the third century, applies as well to fifth century Attica.

There are two occurrences of σανίδια in this document; in the first case (386.161-162) the cost of the sanidia is listed separately (11 drachmas?) while the Eumolpidae are paid at least 3 drachmas and 3 obols for recording the list of initiates on these tablets. In the second case (lines 168-169), however, no figure appears in the left hand margin where we would expect the cost of the tablets. The space within the line probably records the number of tablets while line 169 records the total cost of σανίδια and their inscription. Similarly lines 165-167 list the payment of 62 drachmas to the stone mason for working and inscribing the stele at Eleusis. Thus from what little evidence exists in the fifth century it seems likely that the cost of inscription in either stone or wood was not determined by the number of letters.

170 (III.49) ⊢III HOTET[.....[23].....]NI

The final expenditure is preserved only in the amount paid, 1 drachma 3 obols. Meritt has suggested the following restoration: ho τετ[αγμένος ....[9]..... Ἐλευσῖ]νι.[241] The sense of this restoration is unclear.

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[240] *Op. cit. (supra,* n. 237) 245. See now also A. S. Henry, "Provisions for the Payment of Athenian Decrees," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 247-95.

[241] Meritt, *Prytanies* 438, n. 15.

171-172 κεφάλαιον [σύμπαν ἀναλόματος]
(III.50-51) ΗΗΓΔΔΔ[Δ ΙΙΙ]

The sum of expenditures follows in these two lines. We can say with certainty that the year's expenditures were not less than 280 drachmas, but not more than 299 drachmas and some obols. This total is higher than the sum of those expenditures listed in the immediately preceding lines; the preserved amounts account for only 89 drachmas and 3 obols. Sardemann restored the figure in this line at 295 drachmas 2 obols, based on his calculations of what the epistatai handed over to their successors:

ἀπαρχέ (387.5)	=	1,137 drachmas 3 obols
Αἰγιναῖοι (387.6)	=	3 obols
ἀργυρίον ἕτερον (387.8)	=	1,873 drachmas 1 1/2 obols
		3,011 drachmas 1 1/2 obols
plus the value of the loan to the tamiai of Athena (387.14-18)		20,000 drachmas
Total given to successors:	=	23,011 drachmas 1 1/2 obols
Total at the beginning of their term plus all income except that received from the Mysteries	=	18,907 drachmas 1 1/2 obol[242]
Income less expenses from the Mysteries		4,104 drachmas 1 obol.

This amount, 4,104 drachmas 1 obol, therefore, equals the sum received from the Mysteries minus expenses. To arrive at the maximum and minimum incomes from the Mysteries in drachmas we add the maximum and minimum figures for expenses to 4,104 drachmas 1 obol. These additions yield 4,384 drachmas and 4,403 drachmas (possibly 4404 drachmas). We have listed above, on line 145, possible restorations of income from the Mysteries. Only three of them lie between 4384 and 4404 drachmas: 4389, 4394 and 4398 drachmas. Therefore, one of these figures is the income from the Mysteries and must be restored there. To find the total λέμματα for the year we add this figure to 18,907 drachmas 1/2 obols (viz. money received from the preceding epistatai plus other income) and get 23,296 drachmas 4 1/2 obols, 23,301 drachmas 4 1/2 obols, or 23,305 drachmas 4 1/2 obols, but only one of the two higher figures can be restored in line 148. To find the total expenses for the year, we subtract from

[242] See above, line 148.

23,301 drachmas 4 1/2 obols, or 23,305 drachmas 4 1/2 obols, all the money turned over to the board of 407/6—that is, 23,011 drachmas 1 1/2 obols:

23,301 drachmas 4 1/2 obols	or	23,305 drachmas 4 1/2 obols
23,011 drachmas 1 1/2 obols		23,011 drachmas 1 1/2 obols
290 drachmas 3 obols		294 drachmas 3 obols

Either of these figures is to be restored in line 172.

Of more interest than this total are the individual expenses listed in the preceding lines. Unfortunately, the lack of a preserved left margin for these lines greatly restricts our knowledge of the cost of the individual operations which occurred here at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the fifth century.

Lines 173-183 (III.52-62)

These lines, though not completely preserved, clearly record a loan by the Two Goddess to the Athenian state.

Hiller's restorations of lines 174-175 are too long to fit, as Meritt noted.[243] Line 174 would be five letters too long without crowding or three letters too long with twice crowding of the iotas. Line 175 is three letters too long with no iotas to allow crowding. Even assuming that other letters besides iota might be crowded, the line is still too long. The reading given by Hiller must, therefore, be rejected.

173 (III.52) ταμιαι[The question which must be answered is whether these are the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, that is, the treasurers of Athena, or the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, the treasurers of the Other Gods. Sardemann recognized this question and chose, for his restoration, ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ. Ferguson[244] presented evidence on this issue as well. We know that these two boards were amalgamated sometime during the final years of the fifth century. The first appearance of the title ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθεναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν is in 413/2 (IG II^2 1370, 1371). This combined board also appears in 405/4 in a decree of that year quoted by Andokides (1.77) which mentions τοὺς ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. It would appear, however, that the two boards were not consolidated until 406/5 or 405/4. In the five years following 412/1, the treasurers of Athena appear as a separate board in IG I^3 373, 312, 375, and 476.67-8,185. Ferguson noted that in these years the board was specifically titled ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ or ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας. The disbursements made by this board are specified to be from the

[243] Meritt, *Prytanies* 435-39.

[244] Ferguson 4ff.

funds of Athena Polias, Athena Nike or Hermes, when they are given. We know nothing of the activity of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, however, and it has been suggested that they ceased to exist after 411. Ferguson rejected this *argumentum ex silentio* as invalid. A catalogue from the Lykurgan period (c. 335 B.C.) seems to support his view. This catalogue (IG II² 1498) records the stelai erected by the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the Other Gods. It appears from this inscription that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν set up stelai in 413/2, 410/9 and 409/8. The ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ seem to be acting independently of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν through the archonship of Euktemon in 408/7, if Ferguson's restoration of that archon's name is correct. Thus the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν appear to exist in 408/7 and function apart from the treasurers of Athena. Linders'[245] more recent review of the evidence seems to confirm Ferguson. Harris[246] noted that the tamiai of the Other Gods worked with Athena's treasurers from 406/5 to 386/5 and from 346/5 on, but issued their own inventories in the intervals.

Meritt offered compelling evidence in support of the restoration ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ here. In the accounts from the Erechtheum (IG I³ 476) Phyromachus the sculptor (*GPN* 468, no. 8) is paid from the funds of the treasurers of Athena [παρὰ τ]αμιῶν τες θεο (116-117). Meritt noted that the ταμῖαι τὸν τες θεο appear in the main text of the Erechtheum accounts and in the summation of IG I³ 476 where they had as their secretary a certain Dorotheos. Surely, this Dorotheos in IG I³ 476 is one and the same man as the Dorotheos who appears in line 175 in IG I³ 386 (*GPN* 136-137, no. 9). The board of tamiai involved here must then be the ταμίαι τες θεο. We can interpret this passage in 386, with Meritt, as indicating that the epistatai at Eleusis made their loan to the treasurers of Athena, not to the treasurers of the Other Gods as we might expect if Demeter and Kore had come under the jurisdiction of that board of officials at the time of the Kallias decrees.

I prefer to read, with Meritt and Lewis, the dative, so ταμίαι[ς τες θεο] here since the appearance of the tamiai as subjects in a record issued by the epistatai seems unlikely. Meritt[247] once suggested ταμίαι[ς ιερον χρεμάτον τες Ἀθεναίας].

174 (III.53) ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος hοῖς]

Euktemon, the archon named in the opening line of the prescript is here named again. Hiller's restoration of the βουλή, suggested by IG I³ 32, must be rejected for reasons of space.

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245 Linders, *Treasurers* 58-65 and *passim*.

246 Harris 30 and Harris (1995) 24 (n. 108).

247 *Athenian Financial Documents* (Ann Arbor 1932) 29.

175 (III.54) Δορόθεο[ς ἐγραμμάτευεν]
For a discussion of Dorotheos, the secretary of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, and the evidence of the Erechtheum building accounts (IG I^3 476), see above on line 173, and Meritt, *Prytanies*, pp. 432-39, for the implications of Dorotheos as secretary of Athena for Ferguson's reverse cycle of Prytaneis. A slight variation of this restoration is that offered by Sardemann, who proposed ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος οἷς] Δορόθεο[ς ... ἐγραμμάτευεν, παρέδομεν]. IG I^3 476 would seem to offer no objection to this phrasing.

176 (III.55) κατὰ φσέ[φισμα τὸ δέμο ἀργύριον]
This transaction between the epistatai of Demeter and Kore and the treasurers of Athena is here specified as being carried out by order of the Demos.

177 (III.56) hυποθέμ[ενοι χρυσίον τὸ ἐν τôι]
I follow Meritt,[248] who originally proposed hυοθεμ[ένοις].[249] The meaning of ὑποτίθημι in the middle voice (to put down as a deposit, mortgage; of the mortgagee, to lend money on a pledge) supports this restoration.

Linders[250] noted that the gold, which was received as security for the loan made by the epistatai to the tamiai, while probably under the custody of the tamiai because of its location in the Opisthodomos, did "thus constitute a claim of the epistatai." Hence it was recorded here and 387. Linders also argued from this line, noting the placement of the gold security in the Opisthodomos, that the capital belonging to Demeter and Kore and listed as ἐμ πόλει (line 5) was probably not also stored in the Opisthodomos. From the Kallias decrees (IG I^3 52.15-16) she later[251] suggested that the Opisthodomos was the place where the sacred property belonging to Demeter and Kore was stored. But the evidence for jurisdiction prior to 408/7 by the tamiai of the Other Gods over the capital of Demeter and Kore is lacking, as I have shown above, and so we cannot use the Kallias decrees as a basis for the location of possessions or capital belonging to Demeter and Kore. For further discussion of the relationship of Demeter and Kore to the treasurers of the Other Gods, see above, line 5. See above, on line 5, also for a discussion of the presence on the Acropolis of the property of Demeter and Kore as early as c. 460 B.C.

178-179 ὀπισθοδό̣[μοι ἐν κοίτει χαλκêι]

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[248] Meritt, *Prytanies* 436.

[249] *Op.cit.* (*supra*, n. 247) 29.

[250] Linders, *AB* 71, n. 28.

[251] Linders, *Treasurers* 37.

(III.57-58) ἐκ τêς τε[τάρτες θέκες]
On the basis of IG I³ 387.14-16 we can restore these lines with confidence. These lines also make more precise the manner of storage in the Opisthodomos. Bronze chests (κοῖται) were used as containers for the valuables, in this case gold. These presumably smaller chests seem to have been stored, in turn, in larger ones (θῆκαι). The larger chests were numbered (thus here τετάρτες). For discussion of identifying and labelling, see M. N. Tod, "Letter-Labels in Greek Inscriptions," *BSA* 49 (1951) 1-8.

Harris[252] noted the distinctive characteristics of the items inventoried in the Opisthodomos. The most prominent feature, of course, are the chests which appear frequently in the Opisthodomos inventories, rarely among the items inventoried from the Parthenon itself and never among the items stored in the Erechtheum. The number of incense burners and oinochoai in the Opisthodomos led Harris to suggest that some ritual involving incense also took place in the Opisthodomos. How this would fit with the chests stored there as well is unclear. Also striking is the presence in the Opisthodomos of tin and iron, perhaps in the form of raw material, as well as miscellaneous pieces of gold and silver, such as might be kept for emergency minting. The total absence of silver phialai (the gold phialai continue to be inventoried) from the Opisthodomos inventories in the fourth century can be explained by the monetary crisis of 407/6.

The location of the Opisthodomos is discussed by Harris[253] who noted that the obvious association of it with the westernmost chamber of the Parthenon is unlikely because "the Opisthodomus has a long independent life, separate from the Periclean temple, and probably older." Because it seems likely that it was a treasury which stood opposite or behind the Erechtheum (known as the Archaios Naos in the inventories), Harris identified the Opisthodomos with the archaic temple uncovered by Dörpfeld SW of the Erechtheum and suggested that the back of this temple would have been rebuilt following its destruction by the Persians.[254]

180 (III.59) hίνα σεμ[εῖον ... ἔπεστιν]
I follow here the restoration proposed by both Sardemann and Hiller. There seems to be no way to determine the number of spaces between the end of

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252 Harris 418-22 and Harris (1995) 42-63.

253 Harris 352-53, 402-03 and Harris (1995) 40-41.

254 See also the still valuable articles on this subject by W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens," *AJA* 36 (1932) 307-26; G. P. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens," *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 443-520; and W. H. Plommer, "The Archaic Acropolis: Some Problems," *JHS* 80 (1960) 127-59.

σεμ[εῖον] and [ἔπεστιν], if any. Without any additional spaces the line is the same length as the preceding one.

Why the gold was here given as security instead of minted directly is explained by Ferguson.[255] "In 408/7 B.C. the Tamiae of Athena made an arrangement whereby they set aside in the Opisthodomos 2000 drachmas of gold bullion as security for 3 talents, 2000 drachmas of silver money borrowed from the temple at Eleusis.... This transaction is intelligible on the assumption that in 408/7 B.C. Athens was not yet contemplating the issuance of a gold currency. Had the 'dies and little anvils' been already in operation, the gold could have been used more profitably for coining money." This is supported by the passage in Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 717ff.) where gold coinage is described as καινόν while silver is ἀρχαῖον. The appearance of gold as security, rather than a simple unsecured loan of silver, is indicative of the relationship existing between the Athenian state and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: the loan was made, with a proper business-like arrangement was maintained between the borrower and the lender.

181 (III.60) χρυσίο σταθ[μόν ...]

The weight of the gold deposited as surety is here given. The text of Hiller and Sardemann is again in error. Both restore [XX] to the left of the column margin. This is not possible as the stone is uninscribed there, as Lewis pointed out.[256] Nor is the figure preserved in the left margin of 387.17. Thus Lewis and Meritt, who followed him, are right in asserting that the lack of a preserved figure here for gold makes this inscription of no value for ascertaining the ratio of gold to silver in 408/7. Here in this line, as in 387.17, the figure giving the weight of gold deposited followed the words χρυσίο σταθ[μόν]. A survey of our two texts 386 and 387 will show that the numbers are not systematically placed in the left margin. Some do occur there, others are placed on the line below the item to which they belong or follow the item on the same line (e.g. lines 125, 126 and 148).

182-183 ἐπὶ τούτ[οι παρέδομεν]
(III.61-62) ἀργυρίο [σταθμόν]

The amount of silver turned over to the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ by the epistatai is here recorded. Contrary to Hiller's text, the numbers which actually appear on the stone (T̲TTXX) fall between the two lines, not on either line. I read part of the first T̲ (unlike Lewis in IG I³).

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[255] Ferguson 87.

[256] "New Evidence for the Gold-Silver Ratio," *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*. Edd. C. M. Kraay and C. K. Jenkins (Oxford 1968) 106.

Lines 173-183 (III.52-62) It may be useful now to present these lines as a whole with restorations and a translation.

173 ταμίαι[ς τêς θεô παρέδομεν τοῖς]
174 ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος hοῖς]
175 Δορόθεο[ς ἐγραμμάτευεν]
176 κατὰ φσέ[φισμα τô δέμο ἀργύριον]
177 hυποθέμ[ενοι χρυσίον τὸ ἐν τôι]
178 ὀπισθοδό̣[μοι ἐν κοίτει χαλκêι]
179 ἐκ τêς τε[τάρτες θέκες]
180 hίνα σεμ[εῖον .?.. ἔπεστιν]
181 χρυσίο σταθ[μόν ...]
182 TTTXX ἐπὶ τούτ[οι παρέδομεν]
183 ἀργυρίο̣ [σταθμόν]

173 To the treasurers of Athena we handed over
in the archonship of Euktemon, while
175 Dorotheos was secretary to these treasurers,
silver according to a decree of the Demos,
accepting as a deposit the gold
in a bronze chest in the Opisthodomos
from the fourth money chest
180 on which the symbol ... appears
the weight of the gold being ...
For this we turned over
silver coin in the amount of 20,000 drachmas

IG I^3 387

We may now turn to those lines in IG I^3 387 which differ from 386 and so require comment.

2 τάδε παρέδομεν records the transfer (*paradosis*) of the inventory-accounts by the board which received them in 386 to the incoming board of epistatai.

Εὐβίοι Αἰθαλίδει also appears among the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων for the year 397/6 (IG II^2 1388.10), *PA* 5293; *GPN* 163 (no. 14).

Χα[.....^{20}..... καί] A possible restoration of the name of this epistates is Χαιρέστρατος. This has also been proposed as a possible restoration for 386 where only the last three letters (-τος) are preserved in the prescript. Sardemann pointed out that this is only one of many possible restorations for the epistates named in the prescript of 386. While we cannot maintain with certainty that the epistatai were *not* re-elected from year to year, as Cavaignac suggested, it seems tenuous on the basis of what now remains in 386 and 387 to assume that Χαιρέστρατος was named as an epistates for both years. The recurrence of the same man as secretary of the epistatai in IG I^3 391 is not evidence for the re-election of Χαιρέστρατος. In that inscription we are dealing with what appears to be a quadrennial board while the boards in 386-387 appear to be annual. Thus if Χαιρέστρατος is to be restored as epistates it should be here in 387. We cannot assume the appearance of his name in 386 also, at least not from the evidence we now possess.

2-3 Σμικυθίον ἡαλαιεύς, *PA* 12769; *GPN* 401 (no. 12), is otherwise unknown.

4 ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ
ΧΗΔΔΔΓ ΗΗΙΙΙ
The sum recorded as aparche located on the Acropolis has remained the same during the entire year, 408/7. In light of the loan by the epistatai to the treasurers of Athena it is interesting that no use has been made of it. The lack of any newly received aparche is most probably explained by the condition of Attica and the presence of a Spartan garrison at Decelea from 413 which probably precluded any significant harvest and, hence, the offering of aparche.

6 III Αἰγιναίος appears here in 387 in the accusative, instead of the nominative as in 386.7.

7 ἀργύριον ἕτερον
8 X𐅄HHH𐅄ΔΔΙ⊢⊢IC
ἀργύριον ἕτερον is written here instead of ἀργυρίο ἐπισέμο (386.8). The sum recorded here, X𐅄HHH𐅄ΔΔΙ⊢⊢IC (1,873 drachmas 1 1/2 obols) is 15,400 drachmas 3 obols less than the figure, TT𐅄HHΔΔΙ⊢⊢IIIIC , (17,223 drachmas 4 1/2 obols) recorded under this rubric in 386.9. For discussion, see above, on lines 171 ff.

9 𐅃𐅄Δ στατῆρας Κυζικενός, instead of χρυσίο Κυζικενô σστα̣[ῆρες] (386.10). On the Cyzicene stater, see above, line 10.

10-11 𐅄ΔΔΓ⊢⊢ καρχέσια : ἀργυρᾶ : Γ
σταθμὸν τούτον
Here the καρχέσια and their weight are entered on two different lines with the weight inscribed between the two lines. The text in 387 frequently divides into multiple lines what was inscribed on one line in 386. This lack of precise correspondence makes complete restoration of the two texts from each other difficult, if not, impossible at certain points.

12 ποτέρια : τρία
Note that the number of ποτέρια is here written out. Unit signs (I I I) are used in 386.

14-18 ˝˝˝ ἐν τôι ὀπισθοδόμοι χρυσίον
˝˝˝ ἐν κοίτει χαλκêι ἑκ τῆς
˝˝˝ τετάρτες θέκες σεμε[ῖον ...]
˝˝ χρυσίο σταθμόν̣[...]
[TT]Ṭ[XX ἐ]π̣[ὶ τ]ούτộ[ι] ἀ̣[ργυρίο παρέδομεν]

The left margin used for these lines is different from that found elsewhere in this column. Lines 14-16 begin in the fifth stoichos, just as ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ (line 4). Line 17 begins one and line 18 four spaces further to the left than the preceding lines. The spacing of line 18 conforms with that in lines 9, 10 and 11 and hence offers support for the restoration [TT]Ṭ[XX ἐ]π̣[ί. See above on 386.182. Here we find repeated the information concerning the transfer of silver from the epistatai and the storage of gold in the Opisthodomos as surety for this loan. This section explains that the treasury of Demeter and Kore has not lost 20,000 drachmas. At the least these lines show that the loan from Demeter and Kore to the tamiai was not simply a paper transaction. Without other examples it is difficult to know how common, or unusual, this type of transaction was. From a modern perspective, the gold constitutes collateral. Whether the Athenians regarded it as a "credit" (in the modern sense of the word), or simply

a "claim," as Linders termed it, is not clear.

In line 17 after χρυσίο σταθμόν I have reserved a space of ca. nine stoichoi for the weight of gold. Hiller and Sardemann restored [XX] but this is uncertain. See above, on line 181. The weight of the gold was listed, otherwise the occurrence of this line with χρυσίο σταθμόν is meaningless.

18 [TT]T[XX ἐ]π[ὶ τ]ούτ̣ο̣[ι] ἀ[ργυρίο παρέδομεν]
While only the third T is still visible, the number TTTXX can be restored from 386.182. For a complete discussion see above on 386, line 182.

61-62 [κόθονες χαλκοῖ : Γ II]
[Γ I ὑποδερὶς χρυσῆ hέλκ]οσα
The order in which these two lines appear is reversed from that of 386.54-55.

69 (II.10) hακύλο[ν : ΔΓ I *Cf.* Threatte 495.

74-75 [δ]ακτύλιος χρυσ[ὸς]
(II.15-16) [⊢⊢⊢ σ]τα̣θ̣[μ]ὸν τούτ̣ο̣
This is one example of the division into two lines of an entry which appears all on the same line in 386.67. See above, 387.10-11.

76 (II.17) [σφ]ρ̣α̣γ[ι]δ̣[ίο δύο χρυσίο δεδεμένο]
While only a few letters remain visible the line can be restored from 386.68.

77 (II.18) None of this line remains in the text of 387. We are safe, however, in assuming that this line completes the section of ἀναθήματα begun in line 67. Therefore, we may read [...[8].... χαλκῆ Πίστος ἀνέθεκε] on the basis of 386.69. Hiller and Lewis erroneously assumed 9 spaces before χαλκῆ in this line in 387. Only 8 spaces precede χαλκῆ in 386.69 and so we should assume the same number here.

78 (II.19) Again we are faced with a gap in the text of 387. Restoration of this line is not as easy as with the preceding one because this line begins a new section in the text of 386, that concerned with building material. The possible restorations for the rubric which might have appeared here (discussed above) all use or imply λίθοι or λίθος. Because of the lacuna in 386 and more importantly because of the increasing divergence between the two texts from this point on, any restorations must remain conjectural. One such restoration would be [λίθοι .....

79 (II.20) ḥέκποḍ[α καὶ πεντέποδα : ι] hέκποδ[ε] or hέκποδ[α] seems the likely restoration here. If the rubric stood alone in the preceding line, we might restore hέκποδ[α καὶ πεντέποδα : ι], as I have done. This line would then correspond to 386.70, the first line of the section on building materials.

80 (II.21) σφόνδυλο̣[ι ..]
A comparison of the two texts at this point will show that at least four lines have been skipped according to the text of 386. The correspondence between the two sides does not improve at this point. *Cf.* 386.75.

81 (II.22) τετράποδα [ἐς στρῶμα : ι]
While admitting a non-linear progression in the recording or copying of the inventory listed in 386, this is a possible restoration. *Cf.* 386.71-72.

82-83 hεμιπλίνθ[ια hυπὸ τêι]
(II.23-24) σκενêι : ΔΔΔ[Δ]
This seems the likely restoration here. The line would then correspond to 386.73. The difficulties with this restoration for 386.73 have been discussed above.

84 (II.25) ἐν τôι̣ βολε[υτερίοι] This entry is not preserved at all in the text of 386. At what line it should be restored there is not clear. The text here can be improved from that published by Hiller and Lewis. Presuming, as I think we must, that this Bouleterion is one at the sanctuary in Eleusis, we can regard this as evidence for its existence already in the fifth century, although the existence of a Bouleuterion before the fourth century seemed doubtful to Mylonas.[257] One wonders if this Council House was also used by the Boule of Athens, as was later the case. More intriguing is the fact that some of the building materials were being stored in the Bouleuterion.

85 (II.26) ἐν Αἰγίνε[ι.....
Again we have here the suggestion of the location of materials. What the items were is not preserved here or in 386.

86 (II.27) σαθρὸ[ν] hέ[κποδα καὶ τετρ]άπο[δα : ι]
We have here our first evidence for the storage of items no longer judged to be of good quality. This practice is quite common in the fourth century where items are quite frequently inventoried as being without a leg or legs, etc. (*cf.* IG II² 1540-1550).

[257] Mylonas 154.

Lines 78ff. (II.17ff.)
In his edition of Eleusinian inscriptions Clinton will propose the following text of these lines:

[λίθοι ηέκποδα καὶ πεντέποδα : I
σφόνδυλο[ι .. ὀκτόποδα ἐς στρῶμα : Γ
τετράποδα [ἐς στρῶμα : I
ηεμιπλίνθ[ια : . : πλίνθοι ηυπὸ τῆι
σκενεῖ ΔΔΔ̣[...
ἐν τῶι βολε[υτερίοι : .
ἐν Αἰγίνε[ι σαθρὸν γονιαῖ]ο̣[ν : I
σαθρὸν η[έκποδα καὶ τ]ε̣τράπ̣ο[δα : I

87 (II.28) Πεντελεικο[ῖ λίθοι]
Here again we find a rubric indicating the source of all the stone which follows as Pentelic. The rubric read by Hiller and Lewis is in error. As usual in these inventory-accounts, the rubric begins three spaces to the left of the column margin. More importantly, the stone is described as being Pentelic by the use of the adjective Πεντελεικοί, not from Pendele, Πεντελῆ[θεν].

88 (II.29) τρ̣ίποδ[---
89 (II.30) ηέκπ̣[οδες---
Stone is undoubtedly referred to by measurement in these lines. These lines may correspond to 386.79-80.

90-91 (II.31-32) The lacuna in 386 too at this point makes restoration impossible. We may assume that building materials of some sort were listed here, probably Pentelic stone blocks.

92-95 (II.33-36) Although these lines, too, are missing, it seems possible to restore them from what remains of the four lines in 386.83-86, given that the two texts seem to coincide again at the conclusion of these lines.

[.....[14].....]οπια : I
[.....[11]....στ]υ̣λ̣οβ̣ά̣ται : IIII
[.....[14]....] Δ̣Δ̣Δ̣
[....[9]....γονιαῖος]

101 (II.41) Α[ἰγι]ναῖοι Note that the rubric constitutes here in 387 a separate entry from the items which follow, not as in 386.92. It extends three spaces to the left of the column margin.

121-122 (II.62-63) At this point the text in 387 again often separates into two lines what was written in one in 386. For example, 387.121-2:

κλίμακε μεγάλο [: II]
σμικρὰ : I

134 (III.15) .....]ια vacat
By its position we can say that this must have been a rubric. *Cf.* 386-121.

Lines 148-171 (III.29–52) Twenty-three more lines originally were inscribed at this point in 387. Hiller mistakenly ended the text of 387 with line 147. While the first twenty lines (149–168) are entirely absent from the stone we may safely infer their original existence from what remains in the last three of these lines.

169 (III.50) [.... γρα : I : λυχνεῖο] : II
170 (III.51) [κλῖναι .. : τρ]άπεζαι : ΓII
171 (III.52) [κιβοτὸ]ς : I

The complete absence of any letters or traces from the twenty lines which precede these last three makes the calculation of line length and, hence, any restoration difficult. A secure text for these lines may not be possible, but we can, nevertheless, gain a good idea of what appeared in them. One possible restoration of this lacuna can be found in my text of 387 at this point. I have followed 386 as closely as possible with allowance for the tendency noted in 387 of breaking one line into two.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

IG I^3 386-387, the records of the epistatai for the year 408/7, provide a rare opportunity for insight into the operation and administration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. What we find is a sanctuary of remarkable capability with significant resources.

Concerning its administration we learn that the epistatai are in charge of the operations, possessions and the finances of the sanctuary at this time. The items inventoried as well as the sacred funds are found on the Acropolis, in the City Eleusinion, and at the main sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. On the Acropolis, the epistatai oversee a total of 3 talents, of which over 1100 drachmas are designated as from the aparche. At Eleusis they list in excess of 1 talent plus smaller amounts of uncoined and foreign silver and gold. At all of these locations, in addition, are items of precious materials, whether silver phialai or jewelry, which were probably considered the equivalent of capital since they are weighed as well as counted. What determined the division by location of the items which can be considered negotiable is not known. Cyzicene staters, for example, are found both on the Acropolis (386.10) and at Eleusis (386.49).

While dedications are not as numerous as we might expect, those that are listed are of precious materials. Notable among them is jewelry, which would be appropriate as dedications for two female divinities. Standard vessels (phialai, kylikes, oinochoai) of precious metal also appear in the inventories. Given that we know dedications in non-precious, i.e., non-negotiable materials (stone, terracotta, painted tablets), were made during these and the preceding years, we can conclude that dedications which appear here in the inventory are listed because of their negotiable status. We should assume that the dedications remained at the location where they were originally made.

The financial resources of the sanctuary are considerable, and not limited to dedications. From the account of the year's receipts and expenditures we can gather some idea of the sanctuary's resources: we have noted the 4400 drachmas received from this year's initiates, paid as perquisites to the priests but deposited in the treasury of Demeter and Kore. This sum in turn permits us to speculate that approximately 2,200 Greeks were initiated into the Mysteries this particular year. The Two Goddesses also receive five hundred drachmas from property on

Kythnos. Thus we gain not only information concerning the popularity of the Mysteries at this turbulent period of the last years of the Peloponnesian War but also some indication of the sources of the sanctuary's wealth which allowed it to grant a loan of some 20,000 drachmas of silver to the Athenian state.

Although receipts were limited (presumably because of the war) to roughly 5000 drachmas this year, but with expenses for the year totalling only 300 drachmas, the epistatai are still in charge of a treasury with revenues increasing annually, even during these final years of the Decelean war. Demeter and Kore can list as assets in this year, 408/7, close to six talents, a fairly considerable amount of wealth, especially when we consider that the number of initiates during the last years of the Peloponnesian War was likely to have been reduced from the years before the war. Similarly no newly received aparche is recorded, further limiting the sanctuary's new income. By comparison with the 90 talents recorded among the sanctuary's assets in IG I^3 385, obviously the current assets are much reduced. But the use of these funds in the years intervening between these documents probably meant a sanctuary enriched by new buildings, although our evidence does not allow us to identify particular buildings or projects.

Even with current assets and receipts reduced, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore had the capacity to make a loan of 20,000 drachmas to the Athenian state in 408/7. Carefully recorded and secured by a gold deposit, we should assume that this loan was expected to be repaid. The Kallias decree confirms that the sanctuaries of the local gods of Attica loaned money to the Athenian Demos prior even to the creation of the treasurers of the Other Gods who saw that these earlier loans were then repaid.

The special nature of the loan from Demeter and Kore to the treasurers of Athena is attested by the form in which it is recorded with the repetition of the archon's name. The prominence of the treasurers of Athena rather than those of the Other Gods as the recipients of the loan and the placement of gold as surety in the Opisthodomos gives us a view into the business-like relationship of the Athenian state vis-à-vis at least this one sanctuary, that of Demeter and Kore.

The loan made here in IG I^3 386 also offers evidence against inclusion of Demeter and Kore among the gods under the administration of the treasurers of the Other Gods at this time. The likely restoration of the pertinent lines shows that the loan is made to the treasurers of Athena by decree of the Demos. Surely we would expect to find a different formula were the treasurers of the Other Gods already administering the assets of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Equally interesting is the fact that the decision to borrow from the Two Goddesses at this time was made by Athenian Demos. This, along with the terms of IG I^3 32 and 78, which both specify consultation with the Demos, suggests that the Demos generally oversaw the administration of the sanctuary.

The main body of the documents, which lists the dedications and gives an

inventory of the material possessions at the three sites—the Acropolis, the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary at Eleusis—allows us to consider the actual workings of a major Greek religious sanctuary. From a comparison of the items listed here with other records from the fourth century it seems probable that no major building activity of any type occurred in 408/7. Rather we see an extraordinary number of such items as stone blocks and roof tiles kept on hand against future use or sale. Whether this indicates natural frugality or wartime economy it is not possible to say, although the former is perhaps more likely. The only expenditures listed are related directly to the preparation of the main sanctuary at Eleusis for celebration of the Mysteries, and thus probably indicates the extent to which the Peloponnesian War had affected the celebration of the Mysteries, as both Xenophon (*Hellenica* I.4.20) and Plutarch (*Alcibiades* 34.3–5) record. The lack of any newly received and recorded aparche provides further confirmation of this.

Nonetheless we see from the general wealth of building materials and general equipment a picture of a sanctuary able to function almost on a self-sufficient basis. At the City Eleusinion, all the parts necessary for a wagon (shafts, ropes, traces, axles, wood for wheels, iron bands etc.) are listed. Similarly stored at the City Eleusinion are Sicilian hides, a shovel, basket and 400 new roof tiles—presumably all utilitarian items necessary for the general upkeep and maintenance of the Eleusinion. The materials relating to wagons suggest that they too could be fashioned as well as repaired, as the need arose.

Interesting here is the suggestion of the sanctuary's capacity for metal working, indicated by the presence of the χάλικες σιδεραῖ, χόανα etc. In view of the variety of items which suggest the sanctuary's ability to meet its own general needs, the capacity for metal working is no longer as surprising as it might at first appear. In sum, based on the variety of tools and supplies listed, one is struck by the similarity of the sanctuary to a modern (academic or municipal) institution where the capacity to repair all machinery and perform all but the most complex operations is assumed to be the norm.

Even wider ranging is the scope of the operations suggested by the inventory at Eleusis. A sizeable quantity of diverse building materials, which vary greatly in quantity, from one or two to as many as 54 (column drums), and in the degree of their state of preparation, is listed. The miscellaneous character of these materials and the absence of any expenses related to any type of building project confirms the conclusion that no building project was, in fact, underway in 408/7. Similarly, we can also conclude that possibly more than one building project, either modified or abandoned, is reflected in the inventoried items. More telling is the appearance of 1750 roof tiles carefully taken down, and noted as such, from the Archaic Telesterion and stored for reuse or sale. Once acquired, any material of possible future use was carefully kept and recorded.

A wide variety of wood is also listed, obviously purchased with different uses in mind. Again we are struck by the diversity of their origin. Those listed only by type were probably acquired from a more local source. But just as there were Sicilian hides at the City Eleusinion, so there were timbers from Thurii inventoried at Eleusis. Thus, one common assumption—that in antiquity because of the cost and difficulty of transportation all purchases were made of materials from as local a source as possible—is disproved here.

Yet the presence of items from more exotic sources does not imply that the epistatai did not administer the sanctuary with a mind towards economy. Indeed, the presence of all of these materials, new and re-used, suggests very careful consideration for a frugal administration. The appearance of wood described as ἐκ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδο adds another interesting note. One wonders if this somehow came to the sanctuary directly from Alcibiades, or whether the epistatai purchased it, and perhaps other supplies as well, at the sale of confiscated material, where one presumes used goods were available at a reasonable cost. Beyond the careful cost-conscious administration, the material inventoried here suggests that the epistatai, obviously with help of workmen as needed, would have been able to perform whatever tasks were necessary for the smooth operation of the sanctuary, whether that meant roof repair, metal working, cart/wagon repair or construction, etc.

Again this is confirmed by the wide range of tools and equipment on hand. Block and tackle, scaffolding and ladders are all essential for the construction phase at any site; but they would be equally useful in the course of ordinary maintenance and repair. Thus we see in addition to the larger items just listed a whole panoply of tools listed, including straight edges, saws, borers, as well as pails and baskets. Again the presence of χόανα suggest the capacity for metal working here at Eleusis. Re-used iron in substantial quantity supports this idea. The ability to fashion tools and make repairs as needed, which surely must have included metal working to some degree, would have been valuable for the sanctuary with its diverse operations and functions. How wide was the range of uses to which these items could be put is suggested by the oxhides: the hides listed at both Eleusis and the Eleusinion could have been used with the wagons. Equally, they may have been used to fashion bellows to be used in the metal working process; or for making glue to join rafters.

Record keeping was obviously an important activity at the sanctuary. Thus we find listed among the year's expenses the purchase of *sanidia*, boards, on which would be recorded the year's initiates. Other uses for which they would have been purchased included the working copy of these very inventory accounts; i.e., what the epistatai used as they made the inventory and the copy from which the stone mason worked to inscribe the stone version.

We are given only tantalizing glimpses into a few areas: one is the activities related to the small ship, the ἄκατος. One of the expenses recorded describes

the preparation of a proper footing onto which the ship would be dragged. Similarly, we see poles and oars inventoried which might well be associated with it. Another area which offers us a tantalizing glimpse of sanctuary operations is the section which seems to inventory items belonging to dining rooms (*hestiatoria*). In addition to couches and tables also listed are baskets, trays, spits, firetongs, lamps and vessels for foot washing and other needs. Similarly interesting is the presence of materials which are best explained as evidence of athletic games.

Already noted is the limited nature of dedications recorded either in Athens, on the Acropolis or at the City Eleusinion, or in Eleusis. This is best explained by the fact that the epistatai were concerned only with those items considered negotiable even after their dedication. Such a criterion would therefore exclude dedications of sculpture or vases from this inventory but not such things as gold necklaces and silver phialai. The similar absence of sculpture from the Parthenon inventories, where Harris assumed dedications of gold and silver objects were preferred, suggests that this distinction was common in fifth century inventories.

Thus, the overall picture of the sanctuary in 408/7 is one in which no large scale building activity was underway, but where activities related to the preparation of the sanctuary prior to the celebration of the Mysteries were being carried out. These included the purchase of incense and myrtle; activities included general cleaning and purification, anointing of altars, opening of doors, making a suitable footing for the ἄκατος and making a tile covering for the sacred fig, and purchasing and inscribing the wooden boards with the lists of initiates and probably even this inventory. In years prior to the occupation of Decelea, we can imagine a sanctuary bustling with activity, especially during the course of the various building projects which must have occurred in the years since the middle of the fifth century. Even in the years when there were no major building projects underway, we see a sanctuary administered with an eye toward keeping on hand materials once purchased or taken down which might have future use for projects or repairs, including the capacity to construct wagons and conduct repairs of a wide-ranging nature. In sum, the sanctuary had the capacity and the resources which we might associate with a small town, not entirely self-sufficient, but quite competent to undertake most projects and repairs as needed.

The resources of the sanctuary show a concentration of wealth and precious metals probably equalled by few, if any, individuals. Indeed, when we consider the extent to which Athens depended for resources on what belonged to Athena and the Other Gods, we begin to appreciate the importance of these resources under the control of these local sanctuary administrators but open to Athenian use by decree of the Demos. Given the strong relationship between the Demos and the sanctuaries, rather than seeing the loans made or decrees passed as signs of secularization, we have here further evidence for the symbiotic relationship

which existed between Athens, the *polis*, and her religious sanctuaries, including one of such panhellenic importance as that of Demeter and Kore. Similarly, with so strong a relationship, it is not surprising to see Pericles encourage the offering of first-fruits to Demeter and Kore as both a means of fostering the cult *and* Athens' pre-eminence in the eyes of the Greek world, through the cult's growth and recognition.

Thus, in addition to the important information concerning the role of the epistatai as chief administrators of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Athens and Eleusis during the last decade of the fifth century, these inventory-accounts provide us with a unique opportunity to discover how a religious sanctuary was operated and administered on a very practical and essential level.

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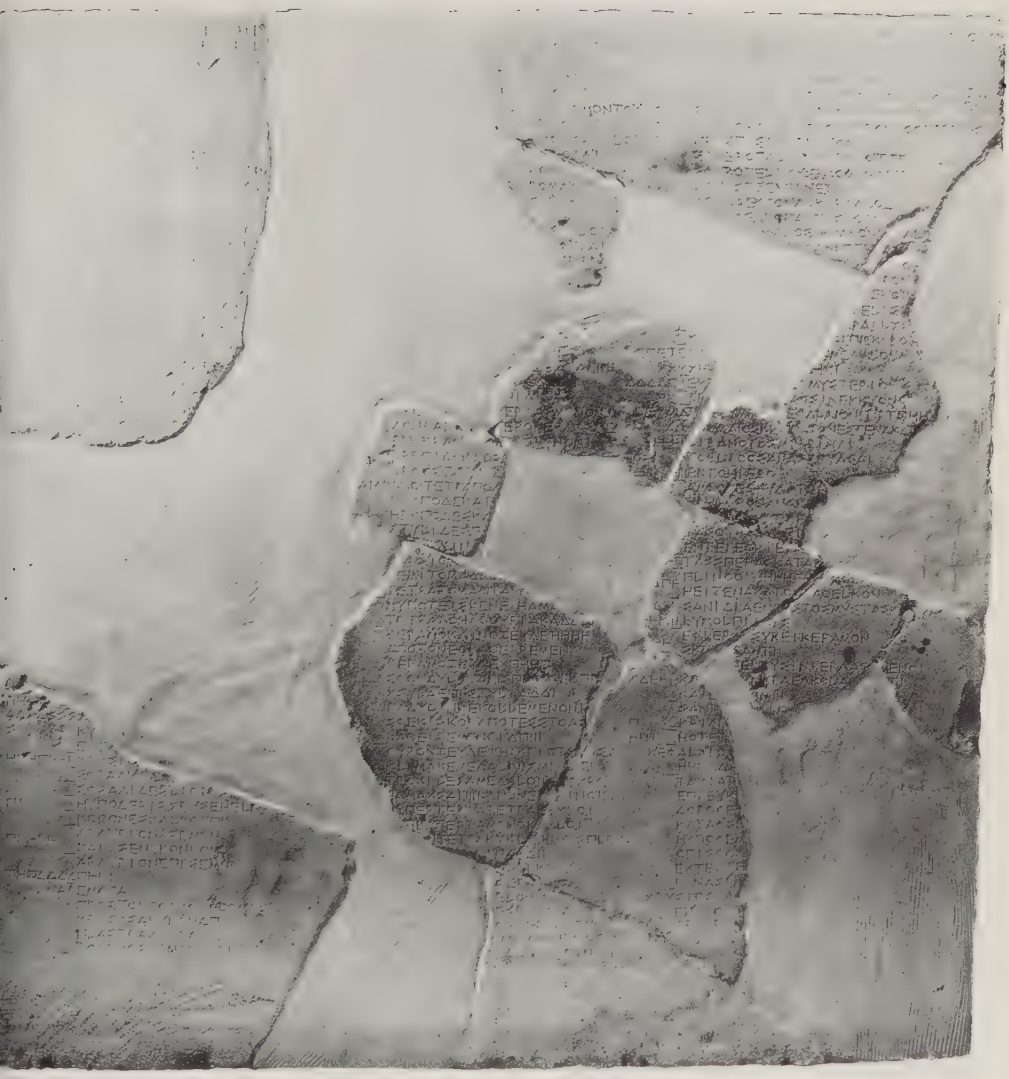
PLATES



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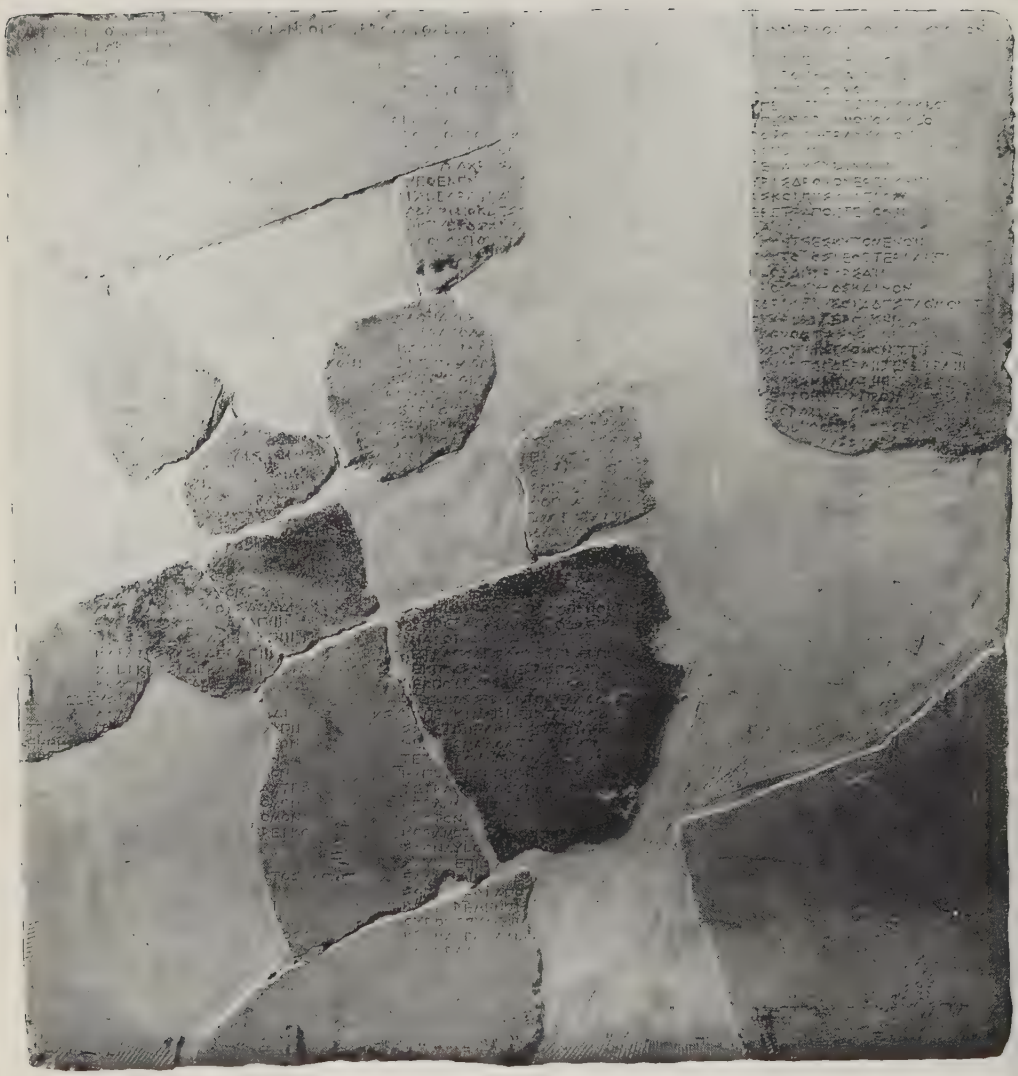

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θ [ε] ο [ί]

ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπὶ Εὐκτέμ[ονος ἄρχοντος . . . . 9 . . . .]τος Πειραιεύς, Μενεκλῆς hιπποτομάδες, hοῖς Ἀμφισθένες Ποτά-
μιος ἐγραμμάτευε· : τάδε παρελά[βομεν παρὰ τῶν προτέρον ἐ]πιστατῶν, παρ' Εὐφιλέτο Κεφισιῶς καὶ χσυναρχόντον, hοῖς ᵛᵛᵛᵛ
Κτῆσος Συπαλέττιος ἐγραμμάτ[ευε

] *vacat*

ἐμ πόλει· ἀπαρχέ· *vacat*
ΧΗΔΔΔΓΗΗΙΙΙ *vacat*
Ⅲ _Αἰγιναῖοι *vacat*
ἀργυρίο ἐπισέμο *vacat*
ΤΤ𐅂ΗΗΔΔΗΗΙΙΙΙς *vacat*
𐅂Δ _χρυσίο Κυζικενῶ σστατ[ῆρες *vvvv*]
𐅂ΔΔΓΗΗ_καρχέσια : ἀργυρᾶ : Γ : σταθμ[ὸν τούτον *vvvv*]
ποτέρια : Ⅲ : σταθμὸν τού[τον *vacat*]
ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ *vacat*
ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίοι τῶι ἐν ἄσ[τει *vacat*]
_φιάλε ἀργυρᾶ πρὸς τῶι [τοίχοι *vvvvvv*]
_hυποδερὶς : χρυσῆ μέλ[αινα : Ⅰ *vacat*]
_χρυσοῖ : κέρχνοι : Γ *vvv* [*vacat*]
_κιβότιον ἐλεφάντιν[ον *vacat*]
_δακτυλίο : χρυσὸ : δύο [σταθμὸν ΓⅠⅠⅠⅠ*vvvvv*]
σκεύε ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίοι·[*vacat*]
ρρυμοὶ : σεσιδερομέ[νοι : 𐅂Ⅰ *vacat*]
ρρυμοὶ : ἀσιδέροτοι [: ΔⅠ *vacat*]
κεράμο ζεύγε καιν[ὰ : ΔΔΔΔⅡ *vacat*]
ἄμπρον :Ⅰ : τετρακύκ[λο καινὸ : Ⅱ *vacat*]
_ἄχσονε μεγάλο : Ⅱ : ἄ[χσονε σμικρὸ : Ⅱ *vvvvv*]
χσύλα ἐς τροχὸ[ς τετρακύκλο . . *vvvvv*]
_πτελέϊνα : ΔⅠⅠⅠ : μ[ελέϊνα . . *vacat*]
ρρυμὸς δίκρο[ς σεσιδερομένος : Ⅰ *vvv*]
[ἀ]σιδ έροτο[ς δίκρος : Ⅰ *vacat*]
[. . . . . *11* . . . . ια : Ⅰ *vacat*]
[σερὰ καινὲ πέχεον : 𐅂ΔΔ *vacat*]
[σερὰ καινὲ πέχεον : 𐅂Δ *vacat*]
[ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς : ΔΔΔΔⅠ *vacat*]

[*vacat* φιάλε ἀργυ]ρᾶ : χρυσόμφαλος *vvvvvv*
[*vacat* Σαλαμινοκ]λῆς : ἀνέθεκε *vacat*
[*vacat* ΗΗ *vv* δακτύλιος χρ]υσῶς : σταθμὸν τούτο *vvv*
[*vacat* σφραγιδίο δύ]ο χρυσίοι δεδεμένο *vvv*
[*vacat* . . . . *8*. . . . χαλ]κῆ Πίστος ἀνέθεκε *vvv*
[λίθοι hέκποδα καὶ] πεντέποδα : Ⅰ *vacat*
[. . . . . *9*. . . . .]ἐς στρῶμα : Γ *vacat*
[τετράποδα ἐς] στρῶμα : Ⅰ *vvvv* [*vv*]*vvvv*
[. . . *7* . . . hυπὸ τῆ]ι σκενῆι : ΔΔΔ [Δ *vvvv*] ᵛ
[ἐν τῶι βολευτερίο] *vacat* [*vacat*]
[. . . . . *12* . . . . . σφόνδ]υλοι : [. . *vvvvv*]
[ἐν Αἰγίνει . . .*6* . . . γ]ο νιαι[ο . . *vvvv*]
[σαθρὸν hέκποδα καὶ]τετρά[ποδα : Ⅰ *vvv*]
[Πεντελεικοὶ λίθοι *vacat*]
[τρίποδ . . . . . *23* . . . . .]
[hέκποδ. . . . . *23*. . . . .]
[. . . . . *26*. . . . .]*vvv*
[. . . . . *24* . . . . .]*vvvv*
[. . . . . *14* . . . . . ο]πια : Ⅰ *vvvv*
[. . . . . *10* . . . . . στυλ]οβάται : ⅠⅠⅠⅠ *vvv*
[. . . . . *12* . . . . .]ες ΔΔΔΔ *vvvv*
[. . . . . *9* . . . . γ]ο νιαῖος *vacat*
κρεπ[ιδιαῖο]ν ἐργασμένον : Ⅰ *vv*
γονιαῖο[ν hέ]τ ερον ἐργασμένον : Ⅰ *v*
ἐπίκρανον ἐ[ργ]ασμένον : Ⅰ *vv*
κρεπιδιαίος [: ΔΓ : τούτον ὁκ]τόπος : Ⅰ *vv*
ὀρθοστάτας : Δ [Ⅱ : δίποδας : ⅠⅠⅠⅠ :
Αἰγιναῖοι : τετράποδ[ες ἀμφοτέραι : ΓⅠⅠⅠ]
hέκποδε καὶ τ[ετράποδε : Ⅱ *vvv*]

μοχλοὶ : ⅠⅠⅠⅠ : σταθμὸν :ΤΤΤ *vacat*
χοίνικε σιδερᾶ : Ⅱ : τέρετρα : Ⅲ : χοάνα : Ⅱ *v*
σμινύαι: ⅠⅠⅠⅠ : σιδερίο hυπάμπρο : Ⅱ *vacat*
κλεῖθρα : Ⅲ : σταθμὸν : Τ : πρίον λιθοπρίστες : Ⅰ
πρίστις : Ⅰ : καρκίνος : Ⅰ *vacat*
σιδέρο παλινhαιρέτο : ΤΤ𐅂 *vacat* [*vv*]
σφυροπέλεκυς : Ⅰ : κόφινοι : Γ *vacat* [*vvvv*]
σανὶς πτελείνε : Ⅰ *vacat* [*vvvv*]
χσύλα ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδο : Δ *vacat* [*vvvvv*]
[κον]τὸς : Ⅰ : κῶπαι : ΓⅠ : σχοινία[. .] *v* [*vacat*]
[. . *6*. . .] Δ: κάδος : ⅠⅠⅠⅠ : κανῶν : Ⅰ : φιάλε [: Ⅰ*vacat*]
[. . . . . *9*. . . .]πο δανιπτῆ[ρ]ας : [.] Ⅰ Ⅰ [*vacat*]
[. . . . . *14* . . . . .] πίναχς : Ⅰ : ο[. . . . *8* . . . .]
[. . . . . *18*. . . . .]τρον [: Ⅰ . . . *7* . . . .]
[. . . . . *15* . . . . . πο]τερίο : Ⅱ [. . . . *8* . . . .]
[. . . *8* . . . . δραχμαὶ ὀ]βελίσκ[ον . . . *6* . . .]
[. . . . . *15* . . . .] γρα : Ⅰ : λυχ[νεῖο : Ⅱ : *vvv*]
_κλ[ῖναι . . τράπεζ]αι : ΓⅠⅠⅠ : κιβοτ[ὸς Ⅰ *vvvv*]
ἐπέτεια [λέμματα ἐκ τῶ]ν μεγάλον μυ[στερίον]
ΧΧΧΧΗΗ[Η𐅂ΔΔΔΔΗΗ] ΗΗⅠⅠⅠⅠ *vacat* [*vacat*]
ΔΔΔΔΓⅡ ἐκ τ [ῶν Ἄγραι]σι μυστερίον *vvvv* [*vacat*]
𐅂 _τε[μένος μίσ]θοσιν ἐκ Κύθνο *vvv* [*vacat*]
λέμματ[ο]ς σύμπ[αν κ]εφάλαιον : ΤΤΤ𐅂ΗΗΗ[ΗⅠⅠⅠⅠ *v*]
ἀνα λόματος κεφάλαιον ἐς τὲν ἄκατ[ον . . . .]
*vvv*ΗΗⅠ λιβανοτός, μυ[ρ]ρίναι *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
τὸλ λίθος ἀνασ[κ]ευάσαι *vvv* [*vacat*]
vvv] ΔΔ[.]ⅠⅠⅠ ἐκ τῶ hιερῶ *vacat* [*vacat*]
[. .]Ⅰ ἀμφορῆς hύδατο[ς *vacat*]
[. . . . .] τὸ hι[ε]ρὸν ἀνακ[αθῆραι *vacat*]

[βύρσαι Σικελικαὶ : ΔΓIII *vacat*]
[hιχσõ :T : καὶ στατῆρες : ΓIII *vacat*]
[κατάδεσμα σιδερᾶ : ΓIII *vacat*]
[χάλικες σιδεραῖ : ΓIII *vacat*]
[κόφινος καὶ ἄμε : I *vacat*]
['Ελευσῖνι *vacat*]
[φιάλ . . . . . *12 1/2* . . . . . ΔΔI *vacat*]
[TTXX τ . . . . . *16* . . . . . ΔΓII *vacat*]
[HHHHΔ⊦ . . . . . *17* . . . . . σõν *vacat*]
[HΓ κύλιχς χρυσῆ σταθμόν *vacat*]
[HΓ κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν *vacat*]
[ⱣΔ[ΔΔΔ⊦⊦II χρυσὶς : I : σταθμὸν ταύτες *vvvvv*]
H[. . . . Δ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν *vvvvv*]
HHHⱣΔΔ_[οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν *vvvvv*]
ΔΔΔΔΣΣΣ χρ[υσίο στατῆρες Δαρεικοί *vvvv*]
Σ _Κυζ[ικενός *vacat*]
ἕκτα[ι Φοκαίδες II I *vacat*]
HHHΓ⊦⊦I _χρυσίο [ἀσέμο συμμείκτο σταθμόν *v*]
_σφραγῖδες λ[ίθι]ν α [ι . *vacat*]
_σφραγῖδες λίθιν α ι [: .I *vacat*]
ΓI _hυποδερὶς : χρυσῆ hέλκοσ[α *vacat*]
_κόθονες χαλκοῖ : ΓII *vacat*
ⱣI⊦⊦⊦ ἀργύριον ἄσεμον *vacat*
_καὶ χσενικὸν homõ *vacat*
ἀργύριον ἐπίσεμον *vacat*
THⱣΔΔΔΔΓ⊦⊦I *vacat*
ἀναθέματα· *vacat*
πρὸς τõι τοίχοι hόρμος *vacat*
χρυσõς ἀκύλον : ΔΓI *vacat*
πλάστρα χρυσᾶ *vacat*
_τὸ δεμόσιον ἀνέθεκεν *vacat*
vacat 0.107

hέκποδες κα[ὶ δίποδες : III *vvv*]
στυλίδες : Γ [I : δίποδε ἀμφοτέραι : II *vvv*]
[χσύλα π]ε ύκινα [: ΓI : ἐλάτινα : ΔΔΔ *vv*]
[σ]χιστὸ : I [I : hαμαχσιαίο : II]
hεμίτομα : ΔΔΔ τ [ρίτομα : Ᵽ *vvvvvv*]
_τετράτομα : ⱣIII : αἰγί [δος χσύλα . . .]
hυπὸ τῆι σκενῆι hαμα[χσιαῖα .
_τετράγονα Θουριακὰ : ΔΔΔ[*vv*
_κεράμο καινõ ζεύγε : HHHH *vvv* [*vvv*]
ἀπὸ τõ νεὸ καθειρεμένα *vvv* [*vvvv*]
κεράμο ζεύγε : XⱣHHⱣ *vvvvv* [*vvv*]
σφόνδυλοι : ⱣIIII : σπε[ῖρ]αι : ΔΓI *vvv*
χσύλα ἐπιστύλια : ΔΔI *vacat*
ἐγ δυοῖν κεκολλεμένον : I *vacat*
σφεκίσκοι ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς *vvvv*
_καθειρεμένοι : ΔΓIII *vacat*
θυρõν ζεύγε : III : hικριοτῆ [ρ]ας : Δ *vvv*
κλίμακε μεγάλο : II : σμικ[ρ]ὰ : I *vacat*
τροχιλεία μεγάλο : II : σ[μι]κρὸ : II *vacat*
hάμαχσαι : III : κανόνε λ[ι]θίνο : II *vacat*
hυπερτερία τετρακύκλο : I *vacat*
[h]υπερτερία μονοκ[ύ]κλο : I *vacat*
[τροχ]οὶ τετρακύκλο : IIII : hύσπλεχς : I *vvv*
[στῆλαι χσύ]λινα[ι :] ΔII *vacat*
[.υρις δρόμον ἐφ]έλκεν : I *vacat*
[δίσκοι : IIII : σκ]α φεῖο ν : I *vacat*
[λέβετε ἀπὸ στ]ελõν : II *vacat*
[. . . . hιμάντε] ἐσκυτομένο [: II] *vv*
[.σκυτολος I :] ἐφετερίαι : ΓII *vvv*
[hέλοι : ΔΓI : βύρσ]α : II : θυρõν ζεῦγος καινόν
[σιδεροῖ τύ]λοὶ : ΔΔΓ : σταθμὸν : T *vacat*
[μοχλοὶ σιδ]εροῖ : ΔIII : σταθμὸν : ⱣΔΣΣΣ *vacat*
vacat 0.092

[. . . . . τὸν βομὸν] περια[λεῖφσαι *vacat*]
_τὰς θύρα[ς . .] ρ ι [. . . . . *18* . . . . .]
[. . . . .]_ἐν τῆι ἑορτῆι ἀν[οῖχσαι *vacat*]
[. . . . .]⊦_τὰς σπέρας κατακ[. . . . . *16* . . . . .]
ΔΓ⊦ πλίνθοι : HHHH : ἐν[ο]ι κοδο[μέθεσαν *vvvv*]
_hῆι τὲν ἄκατον καθῆλκον *vvv* [*vacat*]
. .] Δ⊦ _σανίδια ἐν οἷς τὸς μύστας κ[αγ]ράφο[σι]
. .]⊦⊦⊦III _Εὐμολπίδαις *vacat* [*vacat*]
ἐφ' ἱερᾶι συκῆι κέραμον *vacat*
σκευ [ά]σαντι *vacat*
⊦⊦ σ[τέλε]ν 'Ελ[ε]υσῖνι ἐργασ[α]μένοι *vacat*
ⱣΔ⊦⊦ καὶ [γρά]μμ[α]τα ἐγκο λά[φσαν]τι *vacat*
_καὶ ἐ[λάσ]αντι *vvvvv* [*vvv*] *vacat*
σανίδ [ια .] II ο[. . . . . *19.* . . . . .]
Γ _καὶ γρ[άμματα ἐγγράφσαντι *vacat*]
⊦III _HOTET[. . . . . *23* . . . . .]NI
κεφάλαιον [σύμπαν ἀναλόματος *vacat*]
HHⱣΔΔ[ΔIII *vacat*]
ταμίαι[ς τῆς θεõ παρέδομεν τοῖς *vvvv*]
ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τέμονος ἄρχοντος hοῖς *vvvvv*]
Δορόθεο [ς ἐγραμμάτευεν *vacat*]
κατὰ φσέ[φισμα τõ δέμο ἀργύριον *vvvv*]
hυποθέμ[ενοι χρυσίον τὸ ἐν τõι *vvvvv*]
ὀπισθοδό [μοι ἐν κοίτει χαλκῆι *vvvvv*]
ἐκ τῆς τε[τάρτες θέκες *vacat*]
_hίνα σεμ[εῖον . . . ἔπεστιν *vacat*]
χρυσίο σταθ[μόν . . . . . *vacat*]
TTTXX ἐπὶ τούτ[οι παρέδομεν *vacat*]
ἀργυρίο [σταθμόν *vacat*]
vacat 0.13

[θ] ε [ο] ί

τάδε παρέδομεν ἐπιστάταις τοῖς νέοις : Εὐβίοι Αἰθαλίδει : Χα[. . . . . 20 . . . . . καὶ] χσυνάρχοσι, hοῖς Σμικυθίον hαλαιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε· *vacat*

ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ· *vacat*

Χ Η Δ Δ Δ Γ Η Η Ι Ι Ι *vacat*

Ι Ι Ι _Αἰγιναίος *vacat*

ἀργύριον ἕτερον *vacat*

Χ Ⅎ Η Η Η Ⅎ Δ Δ Η Η Ι C *vacat*

Η Ⅎ Δ _στατῆρας Κυζικενός *vacat*

καρχέσια : ἀργυρᾶ : Γ *vacat*

Ⅎ Δ Δ Γ Η Η Η _σταθμὸν τούτον *vacat*

ποτέρια : τρία : σταθμὸν τούτον *vvvvv*

Η Η Η Η Δ Δ Δ Δ Γ *vacat*

ἐν τῶι ὀπισθοδόμοι χρυσίον *vvv* [*vacat*]

ἐν κοίτει χαλκῆι ἐκ τῆς *v* [*vacat*]

τετάρτες θέκες σεμε[ῖον . . . *vvvvv*]

χρυσίο σταθμὸν [. . . . . *vacat*]

[ΤΤ] Τ[ΧΧ ἐ]π[ὶ τ]ούτο[ι] ἀ[ργυρίο παρέδομεν *vacat*]

[ἐν τῶ] ι [Ἐλευσινίοι τῶι ἐν ἄστει *vacat*]

φιάλε ἀ[ργυρᾶ *vacat*]

hυποδερ[ὶς χρυσῆ μέλαινα : Ι *vacat*] *vvvv*

_πρὸς τῶι το[ίχοι *vacat*] *vvvvv*

_χρυσοῖ κέρχ[νοι : Γ *vacat*] *vvvvv*

δακτυλίο χρυ[σὸ δύο σταθμόν] Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι *vvvv*

_κιβότιον ἐλεφά[ντινον *vvvv*] *vacat*

[σκ]εύε ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσι[νίοι *vvvvvv*] *vacat*

ρρυμοὶ σεσιδε[ρομένοι : Ⅎ Ι *vv*] *vacat*

[ρ]ρυμοὶ ἀσιδέρ [οτοι : Δ Ι *vvvvv*] *vvvv*

[κε]ράμο ζεύγε [κ]αινὰ : Δ Δ Δ Ι Ι *vv* [*v*] *vvvvv*

[ἄμπ]ρον : Ι : τετρακύκλο καινὸ : Ι Ι *vacat*

[ἄχσο]νε μ[εγά]λο : Ι Ι *vacat*

[ἄχσονε σμι]κρὸ : Ι Ι *vacat*

ἀργύριον ἄσεμ[ον *vacat*]

Ⅎ Η Η Η _καὶ χσενικὸν h[ομῶ *vacat*]

ἀργύριον ἐπίσ[εμον *vacat*]

Τ Η Ⅎ Δ Δ Δ Δ Γ Η Η Ι *vacat* [*vacat*]

ἀναθέματα· *vacat* [*vacat*]

πρὸς τῶι τοίχο[ι hόρμος *vacat*]

χρυσῶς : hακύλο[ν : Δ Γ Ι *vacat*]

πλάστρα χρυσᾶ [τὸ δεμόσιον *vacat*]

ἀνέθεκεν *vvvv* [*vacat*]

φιάλε ἀργυρᾶ : χ[ρυσόμφαλος *vacat*]

[Σ]αλαμινο κλῆς : [ἀνέθεκε *vacat*]

[δ]ακτύλιος χρυσ[ῶς *vacat*]

[Η Η Η *vv* σ]τα θ [μ]ὸν τού το [*vacat*]

[σφ]ρ α γ [ι]δ [ίο δύο χρυσίοι δεδεμένο *vacat*]

[. . . . *8* . . . . χαλκῆ Πίστος ἀνέθεκε *vacat*]

[λίθοι . . . . . *34* . . . . . .]

ἡέκπο δ[α καὶ πεντέποδα : Ι *vacat*]

σφόνδυλο [ι . . *vacat*]

τετράποδα [ἐς στρῶμα : Ι *vacat*]

hεμιπλίνθ[ια hυπὸ τῆι *vacat*]

σκενῆι : Δ Δ Δ [Δ *vacat*]

ἐν τῶι βολε[υτερίοι *vacat*]

ἐν Αἰγίνε[ι . . . . . γονιαιο . . *vacat*]

σαθρὸ[ν] hέ[κποδα καὶ τετρ]άπο[δα : Ι *vacat*]

Πεντελεικο[ῖ λίθοι *vacat*]

τρίποδ[. . . . . *28* . . . . .]

hέκπ [οδες . . . . . *26* . . . . . .]

[. . . . . *34* . . . . .]

[. . . . . *19*. . . . .] : Γ *vvvvv* [*vacat*]

[τ]ροχιλεία μεγάλο : Ι Ι *vacat*

[σ]μικρὸ : Ι Ι : hάμαχσαι : Ι Ι Ι *vacat*

[κ]ανόνε λιθίνο : Ι Ι *vacat*

[h]υπερτερία τετρακύκλο : Ι *vvv*

[h]υπερτερία μονοκύκλο : Ι *vvvv*

[τ]ροχοὶ τετρακύκλο : Ι Ι Ι Ι *vacat*

[h]ύσπλεχς : Ι *vacat*

[σ]τῆλαι χσύλιναι : Δ Ι Ι *vacat*

[.]υρις δρόμον ἐφέλκεν : Ι *vvvvv*

[δ]ίσκοι : Ι Ι Ι Ι : σκαφεῖον : Ι *vacat*

[λ]έβετε ἀπὸ στελῶν : Ι Ι *vacat*

[. . . . .]ια *vacat*

[hι]μ[ά]ντε ἐσκυτομένο : Ι Ι *vacat*

[.]σκυ τολος : Ι : ἐφετερίαι : Γ Ι Ι *vvv*

[hῆ]λοι : Δ Γ Ι : βύρσα : Ι Ι *vacat*

[θ]υρὸν ζεῦγος καινόν *vacat*

[σ]ιδε [ρ]ο[ῖ] τύλοι : Δ Δ Γ : σταθμὸν : Τ *v*

[μ]οχ[λ]οὶ σιδεροῖ : Δ Ι Ι Ι *vacat*

[σ]τα θ μὸν : Ⅎ Δ Σ Σ Σ *vacat*

[μ]οχλοὶ : Ι Ι Ι Ι : σταθμὸν : Τ Τ Τ *vvvvv*

[χο]ίνικε σιδερᾶ : Ι Ι : τέρετρα : Ι Ι Ι *v*

[χο]άνα : Ι Ι : σμινύαι : Ι Ι Ι *vacat*

[σι]δερίο hυπάμπρο : Ι Ι *vacat*

[κλ]εῖθρα : Ι Ι Ι : στ[α]θμὸν : Τ *vacat*

[πρί]ονλιθο [πρίσ]τες : Ι *vacat*

[πρίστις : Ι : καρκίν]ος : Ι *vacat*

[σιδέρο παλιν hαιρέτο : Τ Τ Ⅎ *vvv*]

[σφυροπέλεκυς : Ι : κόφινοι : Γ *vvv*]

[σανὶς πτελείνε : Ι *vacat*]

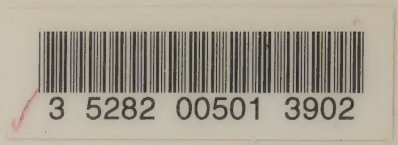
[χσύλα ἐς τρ]οχὸς τ ετρακ[ύκλο . . *vvvvv*]
[πτελέϊνα : ΔIII : μ]ε λ [έϊνα . . *vacat*]
[ρρυμὸς δίκρος σεσιδε]ρομένος : ¦ [*vvvv*]
[ἀσιδέροτος δί]κρος : I *vacat*
[. . . . . *11* . . . . .] ία : I *vacat*
[σερὰ] καινὲ π[έ]χε ον : ℙΔΔ *vacat*
σερὰ καινὲ πέχε ον : ℙΔ *vacat*
ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς : ΔΔΔΔI *vacat*
βύρσαι Σικελικαὶ : ΔΓIII *vacat*
hιχσῦ : T: καὶ στατῆρες : ΓIII *vvv* [*v*]*vvv*
κατάδεσμα σιδερᾶ : ΓIII *vacat*
χάλικε ς σιδεραῖ : ΓIII *vacat*
κόφιν[ος καὶ] ἄμε : I *vacat*
Ἐλευσῖν[ι· . . . . *8*. . . . .] *v* [*vv*]*vacat*
φιά[λ . . . . . *12 1/2* . . . . .]ΔΔI *vacat*
TTXX τ[. . . . . *16*. . . . .]ΔΓII *vacat*
HHHHΔH [. . . . . *18* . . . . .]σῦν *vacat*
HΓ [κύλιχς χρυσῆ σταθμό]ν *vacat*
[HΓ κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ σταθ]μόν *vacat*
[ℙΔΔΔΔHHII χρυσὶς : I : σταθμὸν τ]αύτες *vacat*
[H. . . . Δ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ στα]θμόν *vacat*
[HHHℙΔΔΔ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ στα]θμόν *vacat*
[ΔΔΔΔΣΣΣ χρυσίο στατῆρες Δ]αρεικοί *vacat*
[Σ Κυζικενός *vvvvv*] *vacat*
[ἕκται Φοκαΐδες: III] *vacat*
[HHHΓHHI χρυσίο ἀσέμο συμμεί]κτο σταθμόν *vvvv*
[σφραγῖδες λίθιναι .] *vacat*
[σφραγῖδες λίθιναι : .] I *vacat*
[κόθονες χαλκοῖ : ΓII *vvv*] *vacat*
[Γ ὑποδερὶς χρυσῆ hέλκ]οσα *vacat*
vacat 0.113

[. . . . . *14*. . . . . .]οπια : I *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
[. . . . . *11* . . . . . στ]υλοβάται : IIII *vv* [*vacat*]
[. . . . . *14* . . . . . .] Δ Δ Δ [*vacat*]
[. . . . *9* . . . . γονιαῖος *vacat*]
[κρεπιδιαῖον ἐργασ]μένον : I *vvv* [*vacat*]
[γονιαῖον h]έτ ερο[ν] ἐργασμένον [: I *vacat*]
[ἐπίκρα]ν ο ν ἐργασ μένον : I *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
[κρ]ε πιδια ίος : ΔΓ : τούτον ὀκτόπος [: I *vacat*]
ὀρθοστάτα ς : ΔII δίποδα ς : IIII *vvvv* [*vacat*]
A[ἰγι]ναῖοι *vacat* [*vacat*]
[τ]ετράποδες ἀμφοτέραι : ΓIII : *vvv* [*vacat*]
[h]έκποδε καὶ τετράποδε : II *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
hέκποδες καὶ δίποδες : III *vvvvvv* [*vacat*]
στυλίδες : ΓI : δίποδε ἀμφοτέ ρ α ι : II [*vacat*]
χσύλα : πεύκινα : ΓI : ἐλάτινα : ΔΔΔ *vvv* [*vacat*]
σχι στὸ : II : hαμαχσιαίο : II *vvvvvv* [*vacat*]
hε[μί]τομα : ΔΔΔ : τρίτομα : ℙ *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
_τετράτομα : ℙIII : αἰγίδος χσ[ύ]λ[α . . . *vacat*]
hυπὸ τῆι σκενῆι : hαμαχσιαῖ α [. . . *vacat*]
_τετράγ ονα Θουριακὰ : ΔΔΔΓ *vv* [*vacat*]
κεράμο [κ]αινῶ ζεύγε : HHHH *vvv* [*vacat*]
ἀπὸ τῶ νεὸ καθειρεμένα *vv* [*vacat*]
κεράμο ζ[ε]ύγε : XℙHHℙ *vvv* [*vacat*]
σφόνδυλο[ι] : ℙIIII : [σπ]ε [ῖραι : ΔΓI *vacat*]
χσύλα ἐπισ[τύλια : ΔΔI *vacat*]
ἐγ δυ[οῖ]ν κε [κ]ολλ[εμένον : I *vacat*]
σφε [κί]σκοι ἀπὸ τ [ῆς στοᾶς *vacat*]
καθειρεμένοι [: ΔΓIII *vacat*]
θυρῶν ζεύγε : III : h[ικριοτῆρας : Δ *vacat*]
κλίμακε μεγάλο [: II *vacat*]
σμικρὰ : I *vvvvv* [*vacat*]
vacat 0.095

[χσύλα ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκβιάδο : Δ *vvvv*]
[κοντὸς : I : κῶπαι : ΓI : σχοινία . . *v*]
[. . . *6*. . . . : Δ : κάδος : IIII *vacat*]
[κανῶν : I : φιάλε I *vacat*]
[. . . . . *24* . . . . .]
[ποδανιπτῆρας : . II *vacat*]
[. . . . . *24*. . . . .]
[πίναχς : I : ο. . . . *8*. . . . *vacat*]
[. . . . . *24*. . . . .]
[. . . *6*. . . . τρον : I *vacat*]
[. . . . . *24* . . . . .]
[ποτερίο : II . . . . *8* . . . . *vacat*]
[. . . . . *22* . . . . .]*vv*
[δραχμαὶ ὀβελίσκον . . . .] *vvvv*
[. . . . . *19*. . . . .] *vvvvv*
[. . . . . *16*. . . . .] *vacat*
[. . . . γρα : I : λυχνεῖο] : II *vacat*
[κλῖναι . . : τρ]άπεζαι : ΓIII *vvvvv*
[κιβοτὸ]ς : ¦ *vacat*
vacat 0.27

DATE DUE

DEMCO 13829810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